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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL

Effects of Arms Race on Developing Countries (A.A. Kuznetsov; <i>NARODY AZII I AFRIKI</i> , No 2, 1980).....	1
Socialist Orientation in Asia, Africa (R.A. Ul'yanovskiy; <i>NARODY AZII I AFRIKI</i> , No 2, 1980)..	19
Review of Ul'yanovskiy Book on Problems Facing Asia, Africa (A.M. Model'; <i>NARODY AZII I AFRIKI</i> , No 2, 1980).....	27
Relations in Far East Studied in New Book (L.I. Belikova, A.S. Stepanov; <i>NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA</i> , May-Jun 80).....	33
Pakistan's Role in U.S., Chinese Designs (A.Ural'skiy; <i>MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA</i> , May 80).....	37
Political Settlement of Afghan Crisis is Feasible (Igor Sinitzin; <i>NOVOSTI DAILY REVIEW</i> , 11 Jul 80).....	46
Importance of Soviet Summits With FRG, Vietnam Discussed (Editorial; <i>ZA RUBEZHOM</i> , No 29, 1980).....	49
U.S. Prevents Solution of Palestinian Problem (G. Savin; <i>NOVOSTI DAILY REVIEW</i> , 23 Jul 80).....	53

NATIONAL

Aliyev Addresses Moscow Meeting of USSR Writers Union
(BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 29 Jun 80)..... 55

REGIONAL

Voskanyan Report to Armenian Plenum on Replenishing Party Ranks
(G.M. Voskanyan; KOMMUNIST, 10 Jun 80)..... 59

Orenburg Mennonites' Life, Religious Attitudes
(V. Shevelev; NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 6, 1980)..... 64

Grain Harvesting Problems Subject of Azerbaijan Party Resolution
(BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 3 Jul 80)..... 72

Problems in Local Kazakh Dairy Industry Cited
(M. Ebilqasova, et al; ORTALIQ QAZAQSTAN, 4 Jun 80).... 78

Briefs

Transcaucasus Muslim Clergy Congress 81

EFFECTS OF ARMS RACE ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 10-25

[Article by A. A. Kuznetsov: "The Arms Race and Socioeconomic Problems of the Developing Countries"]

[Text] There is no challenge more urgent and important for the human race than stopping the arms race and disarmament. This is the only fundamental path to strengthening international detente and avoiding world thermonuclear war, which threatens to destroy human civilization. This is the only way to put an end to the continuing spread of centers of arms production. Finally, it is the only way to stop the horrendous plundering of material and nonmaterial resources.

It is to the historical credit of the Soviet Union, and this is recognized especially clearly today, that it was the country that first posed the problem of disarmament as a practical international challenge. It was our country that proposed a scientifically substantiated conception of universal and complete disarmament. The source of this conception was the great V. I. Lenin, and today all progressive humanity is celebrating the 110th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. "Disarmament," V. I. Lenin stressed, "is the ideal of socialism."¹ V. I. Lenin linked the liberation of humanity from militarism and wars with the historic victories of the proletariat.² Thanks to the great theoretical and political activity of the CPSU and Soviet Government, the Leninist idea of disarmament has today become a precise and well-developed program of action which fits the realities of the age of nuclear missiles. This program has been set forth exhaustively in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, in statements by L. I. Brezhnev, and in documents of the Soviet Government. Describing the position of the USSR and the countries of the socialist community with respect to the issues of disarmament, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized: "We are moved by one thought alone: to preserve and strengthen peace, to permit the world's peoples to concentrate their efforts and resources entirely on constructive purposes. That is what will give full scope for human social progress."³

Among the pressing constructive challenges that face the human race are the eradication of hunger and disease and overcoming the backwardness from which a large majority of the population in the developing countries suffers. Solving these problems is inconceivable without taking consistent and effective steps to stop the arms race and disarm on a world scale.

According to figures from the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency covering 145 countries, worldwide military spending in 1976 was calculated to be 398.9 billion dollars.⁴ According to some figures, the amount was over 425 billion dollars.⁵ This is roughly double the total gross national product of Southern Asia and Tropical Africa with a population of roughly 1 billion people. World expenditures for military preparations are 20 times greater than foreign aid to the developing world and 8.5 times greater than the expenditures of the African, Asian, and Latin American countries for education and public health.

Although the developed countries account for the lion's share of military spending, the share spent for arms in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is increasing every year. In the 10 years between 1967 and 1976 the military budgets of the developing countries, according to figures from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, tripled to a total of 90.7 billion dollars. In 1960 the developing countries had barely nine percent of world military spending. In 1967 it had risen to 15 percent, and in 1976 it reached 23 percent.

Both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the accumulation of weapons in these countries deserve attention. They have increasingly sophisticated weapons which are near in effectiveness to certain types of weapons of mass destruction. According to figures from the same Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, between 1967 and 1976 the developing countries received from the United States, France, and England alone 9,767 tanks and self-propelled guns, 4,872 artillery installations, 12,332 armored cars and personnel carriers, 34 large warships (aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, and the like), 422 torpedo boats, minesweepers, and antisub ships, 40 submarines, 2,819 combat aircraft, 2,623 other military aircraft, 2,267 helicopters, 5,100 ground-air missiles, 1,335 air-air missiles, and 1,675 air-ground missiles.⁶ A large share of these deliveries are the most up-to-date type of weapons. "Although the proportion of used and surplus equipment remains significant, an increasing share of weapons sales is the very latest models. In some cases export orders are filled even before deliveries are made to the armed forces of the exporting party itself," a group of United Nations experts observed.⁷

Import remains the principal source by which the developing countries replenish their military arsenals, and the volume of import is growing. From 1967 to 1976 the import of weapons and military gear to the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America grew 2.9 times, reaching 9.8 billion dollars.⁸ In recent years, however, the share of import in

total military spending has shown a tendency to drop. More than 20 countries of the developing world today are already producing various types of heavy weapons. The military corporations of the imperialist countries, usually operating on the basis of agreements for joint production and compensation deals, play a large part in organizing military industry in these countries. "Although particular contracts differ greatly," the American author S. Lydenberg testifies, "the agreements usually allow the production of American weapons in foreign countries. In other words, they make it possible to export military technology along with deliveries of weapons systems as such. These agreements range from simple assembly where all the parts are imported from the United States and the weapon is merely assembled in the foreign country, to domestic production where the country, owning a license, produces and assembles American military equipment *en toto*. Many different versions of agreements exist between these two extremes. Compensation deals represent a variation of agreements for joint production. According to them the corporation gives its consent to placing a certain part of its orders in a particular country in response to orders for military equipment in the exporting country."⁹

Lydenberg further observes: "In the 1950's and 1960's most of the agreements for sales of licenses and joint production were made by the post-war allies of the United States, in particular Germany, Italy, and Japan. But in the last decade there has been an increase in the number of license agreements with friendly countries in the third world." Among these partners Lydenberg mentions Taiwan, South Korea, Iran under the Shah, Pakistan, and others.¹⁰

A group of arms exporters has appeared among the developing countries. They export both weapons received from the developed countries and weapons they have produced themselves, and the latter category is growing. In 1967 the developing countries exported 194 million dollars worth of weapons; in 1976 the figure was 820 million. Even taking into account the rise in prices, weapons export from these countries increased 2.5 times in 10 years and their share of world arms export rose from 2.8 to 6.1 percent.¹¹

The world community is especially alarmed at proliferation in the production of nuclear weapons. In the near future the number of countries that possess nuclear weapons may multiply several-fold. "As for most of the industrially developed and several developing countries, already today there are no major technological or economic barriers that prevents them from carrying out programs to build nuclear weapons."¹²

It is not possible to give a simple, unambiguous answer to the question: why are the developing countries increasingly involved in the process of accumulating arms? Several factors are at work here. Moreover, different factors may operate as the immediate impetus to arms accumulation and building of the military forces of each country taken alone.

The principal reason is concealed within the nature of imperialism, in its economic, social, and political interests and its ideology and morality.

The struggle to divide and redivide the world and get markets and sources of raw materials made militarism a constant fellow-traveler of imperialism and elevated the use of force to solve international problems into a principle. The birth of the world's first socialist state, the emergence and consolidation of the world socialist system, the crisis and collapse of the colonial empires, the deepening of the national liberation revolutions, and the appearance of countries with a socialist orientation changed the objectives of imperialism's military efforts. Today their goal is, using force or the threat of force, to inhibit the process of revolutionary transformations in the world, weaken world socialism, and hold back the development of progressive trends in the national liberation movement. The logic of opposing the world revolutionary process by force, a position supported by many leading military-political strategists in the West, entails extending the bounds of "security" far beyond the actual borders of their countries and creating networks of military bases, zones of influence, and defensive alliances into which the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are drawn.

It is common knowledge that the bloc policy of the West, just like direct military intervention by imperialists in the affairs of other countries, has not brought them any marked success, but it has aroused strong protest from world public opinion. Under these conditions, without rejecting the strategy of "deterring" the progressive forces, imperialism is changing its tactics. A large role is being given to military bases on islands in the world ocean and to mobile naval sub-units which, in the opinion of Western strategists, are less vulnerable to anti-imperialist and revolutionary movements but can be used against them at any moment. The traditional method of the imperialists, achieving their own objectives through the activities of others, is receiving further development.¹³

In the Middle East, for example, Israel is the main striking force of imperialism in the struggle against the progressive forces of the Arab world. With direct aid from the United States, Israel has become the military outpost of imperialism in the Middle East. In 1976 Israel's military budget exceeded 4.3 billion dollars, and in the decade that ended in 1976 its military spending was more than 23 billion dollars. Between 1967 and 1976 the United States, France, England, West Germany, and other capitalist countries delivered about 5 billion dollars worth of weapons and military gear to Israel. Arms production has been organized on a large scale in Israel. Through TNK [expansion unknown] channels Israel receives fissionable material and technical aid toward building an atomic bomb. With the betrayal of the liberation struggle

of the Arab peoples by the leaders of Egypt the outlines of a new Cairo-Tel Aviv military-political alliance have taken shape.

Before the revolution against the Shah Iran was the bulwark of imperialism in the Middle East and Southwestern Asia. In the 10 years between 1967 and 1976 its military spending grew 9.4 times, reaching 7.8 billion dollars. With aid from the United States and the other capitalist countries Iran built a military industry that was capable of supplying many types of weapons to its own armed forces, but also of exporting them. After the Shah's regime fell, imperialism began focusing more attention on Saudi Arabia.

The imperialists assign an important place to the South African Republic in the struggle against the progressive forces of Africa. In the decade that ended in 1976 the military budget of this racist state increased five times, reaching about 2 billion dollars in 1976. Ignoring the recommendations of the U. N. Security Council to refrain from delivering weapons to the regime in Pretoria, the capitalist countries sold it 178 million dollars worth of weapons and military gear in 1976 alone. The explosion of a nuclear device in the South African Republic in November 1979 shows that the South African racists have already gained possession of the atomic bomb. Imperialism aspires to use the puppet regime of South Korea as its "center of strength" in Southeastern Asia. This country spent 1.38 billion dollars for military purposes in 1976, including 327 million for weapons import.

Imperialism links prospects for continued struggle against the socialist states and the national liberation movement with the aggressive policy of the Beijing leaders. The ruling circles of certain imperialist states, continuing to play with the "Chinese card" in foreign policy, are demonstrating readiness to deliver the latest weapons models to China and to help that country modernize its military industry and armed forces. According to estimates by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Chinese armed forces numbered 4.3 million in 1976 and Chinese military spending was more than 34 billion dollars.

The political goals of imperialism are just one of the reasons for the growth in weapons stocks in the developing world. Weapons production has become an inseparable part of the reproduction mechanism of numerous capitalist countries. Dozens of large military-industrial corporations in the United States, England, France, West Germany, and Italy engage in manufacturing weapons. They prefer military production to civilian output because weapons production gives them much higher profits.¹⁴

Like all capitalist production, which is stimulated by the pursuit of profit, weapons production needs expansion of markets. The 10 largest producers of military output in the United States sell 30 percent of their output in foreign markets, and a corporation such as Northrup, for example, sells 87 percent in export. Exporting weapons significantly

reduces the cost per weapons unit for the producer and makes it possible to maintain a high level of production and, consequently, profit in peacetime. The following figures illustrate the importance of the developing countries as a weapons market. In 1976 these countries absorbed 73.4 percent of world weapons export. For many capitalist countries weapons export to the developing countries has become an important means of evening out the balance of payments, which has suffered greatly from the rise in the cost of fuel and raw material produced in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. "These sales, especially to the OPEC countries, improve the U. S. balance of payments and insure re-circulation of the enormous amounts of petrodollars possessed by Middle Eastern countries," S. Lydenberg notes.¹⁵

The coincidence of private and state interests in weapons export enables military industry to use a rich arsenal of means to push their goods in the markets of the developing countries. Various types of provocation and propaganda tricks to create tension and conflict among different countries are important among these means. As J.-A. V. Gallo observes, "Weapons purchases by the developing countries, do not take place only to the extent of the needs of the poor countries. They are stimulated by the demands of the exporting countries. Military industry is exceptionally profitable. It is one of those sectors which is used to eliminate the balance of payments deficit. Therefore, large transnational corporations in the military production sectors promote the arms race in the third world and aggravate conflicts among different countries. At the same time, they help spread ideas and values that promote the arms race."¹⁶ Table 1 [not reproduced] shows the levels of military spending in the developing countries.

It has become commonplace in the struggle for weapons markets to bribe high officials who are involved in weapons purchases. Thus, in 1972-1973 the American Northrup Corporation transferred \$450,000 through its agent in Saudi Arabia to bribe two generals on whom the market for its products in that country depended. In 1970-1975 McDonnell Douglas spent about 2.5 million dollars to pay for the services of government servants in foreign countries and Grumman paid 6 million dollars in commissions in its agents in Iran in connection with sales of the F-14 fighter.¹⁷

It would be a simplification to state that the accumulation of arms in the developing world is the result of external factors exclusively. There are also domestic forces within the developing countries that have an interest in enlarging the armed forces and increasing their military potential.

Above all, this refers to the reactionary segment of the bourgeois and landowner ruling circles who fear the people and the democratic movement. They want to keep their power, privileges, and wealth. In some countries the army has become a part of the police who are used to

suppress action by the working people. Then there are various kinds of subcontractors working for the army, middlemen in weapons purchases, and the "sold-out" part of the government service, those people who are supported by the imperialist military-industrial corporations. It also includes the top professional military leaders, for whom military spending and building up the armed forces are a source of enrichment and broadening of their influence.

The accumulation of weapons in the developing countries is also promoted by the fact that certain political leaders of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries consider military potential an important factor that builds up their prestige and international status.

The direct and indirect presence of imperialism in various regions of the developing world and the expansionism of Beijing, which threaten the freedom, independence, and territorial integrity of the young nations, and the constant provocation by imperialism and Beijing against the national liberation movement force even those countries that sincerely uphold the principles of peace and peaceful coexistence and favor stopping the arms race and disarmament to take steps to build up their defense capability. This applies first of all to the countries with progressive sociopolitical orientations. The aggressive efforts of the imperialists and their allies are directed precisely against these states. True to their international duty, the socialist countries give these states broad and multifaceted aid in building up their economy and increasing their defense capability.

The arms race has many effects on all the most important spheres of life in the developing countries. All states suffer from it, both those which have already become entwined in the process of accumulating weapons and those which still are not participating actively in this process. It hits the developing world at its weakest point, in the economy. It depletes the strength of developing countries, limits potential for development, preserves backwardness, and consigns them to a dependent status within the system of international division of labor. It generates tension and intensifies mistrust, suspicion, and conflicts in relations among neighbors. It poisons the domestic social climate and inhibits and distorts social development.

Let us first consider the direct impact of the arms race. This type of impact is not always and not everywhere properly appreciated, which is the reason for the spread of the illusion that the arms race concerns only those countries who are already involved in the production and accumulation of weapons. But spending for weapons is a direct loss for the entire human race. In our day this loss is estimated at 24-30 percent of total world gross internal product.¹⁸ Naturally, such enormous and systematic withdrawal of the results of live and embodied labor cannot be without consequences. The world capitalist economy has reacted to them with a deepening of crisis phenomena and growth of

inflation in the leading centers of capitalist production, plus continued disorder in its currency systems.

As the weaker side in the international capitalist division of labor, the developing countries receive a significant share of the burden of these economic disruptions. Conditions for selling their output in world markets are tightened, deficits of trade and payment balances grow, and foreign indebtedness increases.

Among the consequences of the arms race U. N. experts emphasize the "distortion" of the flows of goods and aid. It is common knowledge that military production makes heightened demands for certain types of goods: fuel, ores of ferrous and nonferrous metals, and others. The developing countries, which are the principal suppliers of these goods, are forced to produce and export them to receive foreign currency. This helps consolidate the colonial single-product structure of their economies and keep them in an unequal position in the system of the international division of labor. Their reserves of valuable types of raw material and fuel are being depleted rapidly. There is a real danger that many developing countries will significantly undermine their own raw material and energy bases before they are able to begin large-scale construction of industry. For security reasons the developed capitalist countries impose numerous restrictions on the export of their own products, which makes it difficult for the developing countries to receive certain modern types of equipment and technology.

The arms race unquestionably also limits the potential for giving aid to the developing world. The developed capitalist countries subordinate the granting of aid to political considerations. The needs of the poorest countries, those which do not have access to the sea or other strategic advantages, are simply ignored in this case. The report of the U. N. experts comments: "Thus, the arms race promotes preservation and enlargement of the gap both between the developed and the developing countries and within these groups. It hinders cooperation among nations, socioeconomic progress as a whole, and the establishment of a new international economic order."¹⁹

Military preparations exert direct, even more profound and diverse influence on those states which have already begun massive arms accumulations. The developing countries spend an average of 6.3 percent of their gross domestic product for military needs. If we assume a maximum return on capital factor of 3-4 percent of gross domestic products, it can be stated that military spending of 90 billion dollars reduces the rate of economic growth of the developing world by 1.6-2.1 percent. The levels of military spending in the Afro-Asian countries differ. There are some countries where the level is about one percent of gross domestic products (Nepal, Sri Lanka, Gambia, Botswana, and others); there are other states which greatly exceed this norm, for example Egypt (10.5 percent), prerevolutionary Iran (12.2 percent), Jordan (9.4 percent), and Saudi Arabia (18.5 percent).

In other words, whereas the gross domestic product of the developing countries increased 4.5 percent in 1976, if the money spent for military needs had been used for peaceful development the growth rate of gross domestic products in the developing world as a whole could have been 6.1-6.6 percent, and much higher in particular countries. It should also be considered that the coefficient of return on capital is calculated for the developed countries where the share of manual labor is lower and technical equipment per worker and the capital-intensiveness of production are higher.

A significant part of military spending is done in foreign currency. Furthermore the foreign currency share has recently shown a tendency to exceed the growth rate of military expenditures, which is linked to a change in the forms of delivery of military gear by the principal exporting countries. Until 1973 the bulk of American arms were delivered to the developing countries on an aid basis. Since 1974 commercial transactions have become the predominant form. In 1976, for example, aid accounted for just four percent of American weapons deliveries and 96 percent was export based on trade agreements.²⁰ Currency payments associated with weapons importing are not limited to paying for the cost of the deliveries. Military hardware demands constant and skilled servicing which the developing countries are not generally able to provide. Therefore, they are forced to call on the assistance of foreign specialists. Table 2 (not reproduced) gives an idea of the cost of these services.

At the end of March 1976, just 10 American corporations that export military output, among which are those mentioned in Table 2 [Northrup, MacDonald Douglas, Litton, General Electric, Raytheon, Hughes Aircraft, and Lockheed], had contracts for military technical aid to the developing countries in the total amount of \$2,216,200,000.²¹

The report of the U. N. experts observed: "In all the countries which are not themselves major weapons producers, an increase in military spending usually means an increase in import and causes a deficit in the trade balance. The fact that import for military purposes does not increase earnings or promote export through which it would be possible to repay the additional indebtedness further aggravates the long-term consequences for the balance of payments."²²

The buildup of armed forces in the developing countries involves enormous expenditures of labor resources. This refers above all to the most scarce category of labor, technical cadres. The technical level of the weapons, as well as the military equipment and gear, far exceed the level of machinery in the peaceful sectors. Therefore, the army draws the most capable and well-trained part of the workers, technicians, and engineers away from productive use; such labor is almost always scarce. This puts civilian production in an even more unfavorable position. There is also another aspect of this problem. The developing

countries have roughly 15.6 million people in the prime age under arms".²³ From an economic point of view they are not simply dependent. Maintaining an army involves not only supplying soldiers with the means of existence, but also providing them with expensive military hardware, training them, and so on. These expenditures are sometimes so great that it is difficult to find anything like them in the civilian sector. For example, a squadron of fighter planes today costs 202 million dollars, while one destroyer costs 314 million dollars and a submarine costs 1.6 billion dollars.²⁴ Expenditures to train one interceptor pilot for a Mirage-III in France (including depreciation of the equipment) are almost 1 million dollars.²⁵

The result is that the "mean statistical" soldier not only fails to participate in the creation of material and other assets; he consumes value created by many civilians. Expenditures to maintain one soldier in the developing world are equivalent on the average to the share of 13.5 members of the civilian population in gross domestic product. Despite the fact that these expenditures in cost terms are roughly one-fifth those in the developed countries, the relative burden of maintaining one soldier is twice as great for society.

In other words, the 15 million-strong army in the developing countries does not mean just that such a number of healthy young people are not participating in production. It also means that approximately 210 million civilians are working only to make it possible for these 15 million to "throw the results of their labor in the ocean." Future prospects are not令人安慰的. The rising cost of a unit of arms is causing the burden to grow steadily. It has increased 60.7 percent since 1967, exceeding the corresponding growth indicator for the developed countries.²⁶

The arms race does not damage the material components of development alone. The human component suffers equally from it. After all, expenditures for war come first of all from expenditures for social needs, for health and education. In the developing world military expenditures on the average are roughly double state expenditures for these purposes. Each soldier "eats up" as much money as is spent for the education and health services of 98 civilians in countries of the Far East, 116 in Latin America, 146 in the Middle East, 385 in Africa, and 464 in Southern Asia. We should recall in this connection that illiteracy in the Latin American countries is still 26 percent, while in the Middle East it is 59 percent, in Southern Asia 66 percent, and in Africa 78 percent. Whereas the developed countries have one doctor per 478 inhabitants and one hospital per 99 persons, the corresponding figures in the developing countries are 2,980 and 706. The situation is particularly difficult in Southern Asia and Africa which have one doctor for each 4,542 and 9,611 inhabitants. Nepal has one doctor per 38,000 population, while in Burundi there is one doctor per 45,000 and in Upper Volta it is one doctor per 57,000 persons. In the

developing countries "guns" are replacing not just "butter" but also textbooks for children, hospital beds, and pensions for the elderly. Arms are being accumulated at the expense of the material and non-material needs of the human being, the main productive force. This condemns people to undernourishment, disease, and early death.

There is one other aspect of the problem, the social psychological aspect. In many developing countries the armed forces are an influential sociopolitical force. Every other government in Latin America and Africa today is in military hands. Military men have enormous influence on social and political processes in society, on the ideology and morality of society, and on the upbringing of the younger generation.

It would be incorrect, of course, to consider any strengthening of armed forces in the developing world a negative phenomenon. Everything depends on the purpose for which this is done. The struggle for freedom and building a defense are one thing. The peoples and states of the developing world must be able to realize their right to independence and sovereignty and defend the accomplishments of their national liberation and people's democratic revolutions against infringements by imperialism and its henchmen. Reactionary, chauvinist, and aggressive goals which conflict with the interests of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle are something else. The functions performed by armed forces within a country must also be distinguished. It is common knowledge that the national patriotic part of military forces and progressive-minded officers have often initiated the struggle against imperialism to reinforce national independence and achieve radical social transformations.²⁷ In many countries with progressive orientations the army, under the leadership of revolutionary democratic parties, does a great deal of organizational, economic, and political indoctrination work and involves working people in sociopolitical life.²⁸ But when power is in the hands of forces that oppose the people, the army with its discipline, lack of external control, and monopoly on physical force is used by reactionaries to suppress democracies and sometimes even put itself above society. The civilian society is made into an obedient servant to the orders of the administration. Embezzlement, corruption, and nepotism flourish under the protection of the military. Militarism rejects the traditions of humanism and respect for the individual. It implants the cult of force. Under these conditions, for society to build up the army is equivalent to returning to some hated feudal or colonial system.

As already observed, some politicians in the developing countries believe that stockpiling weapons increases the prestige of a country, stabilizes its international position, and makes it invulnerable to foreign influence. There are some grounds for this belief, of course, and it may be true in some situations. But it is not in the long-run interests of the countries.

important weapons require skilled servicing, spare parts, material, and the like. The imperialists understand this very well and try to make it a factor creating political dependence. S. Lydenberg presents the point of view of those who favor expanding deliveries of American weapons abroad in the following words: "Weapon sales help maintain U. S. influence in regions where other countries may strengthen their position by selling their own weapons. By controlling deliveries of spare parts, cadre training, and other similar services the United States can definitely keep the military potential of less developed countries under control."²⁹

The creation of a military industry does not change the situation. A developing society does not have the economic, technical, or scientific resources to independently organize and support military production. After all, "the arms race today is not just a rivalry in quantitative indicators. Above all, it is competition in the field of modern technology."³⁰ By helping set up military sectors of industry, foreign monopolies spread their influence in the key sectors of economic and sociopolitical life.

Ultimately, the accumulation of arms does not even promote stabilization of the foreign policy situation and settlement of the conflicts which are so widespread in the developing world today. As experience demonstrates, a buildup in the military potential of one country elicits responding efforts on an individual or collective basis by other countries. The accumulation of weapons receives new impetus. As a result, the situation in the particular region is far from stabilized; it becomes even more uncertain and explosive. More than 110 armed conflicts took place in the developing regions of the world between 1955 and the beginning of 1979.³¹ "The conflicts usually develop out of a set of factors including political, religious, demographic, social, and economic factors," observes R. L. Sivard. "But many sources of friction that lead to conflict are intensified precisely by excessive military spending."³² The parties involved suffer ever-larger human and material losses from military conflicts. For example, in the 18-day war between the Arabs and Israel in 1973 about 600 aircraft, 3,000 tanks, and 16 ships were destroyed. Each hour of the war cost 20 million dollars.³³ And what price can be put on the human victim in the combatant countries? The most reliable and only reasonable alternative to solving conflicts by military means will be negotiations by the involved parties, their good will, mutual respect for the interests of all peoples, and recognition of their rights to themselves determine the forms of their existence and government and their paths of development.

Thus, the arms race imposed on humanity by imperialism is profoundly harmful to the national interests of the developing world. It intensifies the exploitation of the developing countries by the imperialist monopolies, spreads the influence of military-industrial complexes

to vitally important elements of the economic and political structure of young nations, and retards their economic, social, and cultural progress. It poisons the foreign policy climate, aggravates conflicts among countries, and divides young nations in the face of their common enemy: imperialism. In its sociopolitical essence, the imperialist arms race is one of the most important weapons of neocolonialism.

The sociopolitical situation in the developing world, which is forming under the influence of the arms race, has a negative impact on the international situation, makes the process of detente more difficult, and complicates the problem of stopping the arms race and achieving disarmament. Huge weapons purchases by the developing countries give the military-industrial complexes additional stimulus to expand the production of their lethal products. Conflicts between states in the developing world, exacerbated by the buildup of military potential, have a negative effect on the international climate. The stockpiling of weapons in the vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and multiplication of centers of weapons production raise new obstacles to solving the problem of stopping the arms race and banning nuclear weapons. Thus, eliminating the threat of thermonuclear destruction, ridding the majority of the world's population of imperialist intrigue and exploitation, poverty and backwardness, and establishing new, just relations among peoples — all these pressing challenges of the present day are organically interrelated.

There can be no alternative to the arms race except disarmament. Banning all types of weapons of mass destruction, above all nuclear weapons, stopping their production and development, consistently reducing the military expenditures of states with large military potential, rejecting the use of force and the threat of force in relations among countries, and resolving all international disputes by negotiations — this is the way to disarmament suggested by the Soviet program of peace. The Soviet disarmament program "encompasses all aspects of the problem and envisions both complete and universal disarmament and concrete, particular steps, depending on the degree of readiness of our Western partners to carry them out."³⁴

This program stands on the solid foundation of the real international situation. It does not link particular aspects of the solution to the problem with the problem as a whole. The Soviet Union begins from the proposition that any step in the direction of limiting the arms race will promote the general cause. The program thus offers an opportunity for all peoples and states to make a contribution to the cause of disarmament. It does not preclude initiative either. The foremost initiative is the idea of creating zones of peace and nuclear-free zones in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere.

The Soviet program ties disarmament, which is vitally important by itself, closely to a positive solution to the key world problems: eliminating backwardness in the developing world, preserving world resources, protection of the environment, and others. This, in its turn, attracts a larger circle of social forces to the program and gives them new stimuli and confidence in the ultimate triumph of the principles of peace and peaceful coexistence.

It is gratifying that political opinion in most of the developing countries share this approach. This is illustrated by the positions of the representatives of these countries in the United Nations (including their statements during the discussion of the problem of disarmament from the podium of the most recent, 34th session of the General Assembly). The resolutions of the Havana conference of nonaligned nations also illustrate this.

It is difficult today to estimate the full potential impact for humanity, the peoples of the developing countries included, of stopping the arms race and achieving disarmament. There is no doubt, however, that disarmament would be an important condition for solving many pressing problems of the developing world. It has already been mentioned above that the developing countries could significantly increase their rates of economic growth just by using their own resources which today go for military preparations.

The growth rate would rise significantly if internal resources were supplemented by foreign aid. In any case, to reduce the per capita income gap between the developed and developing countries by one-half before the end of this century, the volume of capital investment in the developing world should be increased to 30-35 percent, and in some cases to 40 percent, of their gross domestic product. Under current conditions this means 435-507 and 580 billion dollars respectively.³⁵ This level of capital investment is completely inconceivable without stopping the arms race on a world scale and without joint efforts by all countries that are members of the world community to assist the developing countries.

Shifting military expenditures to peaceful purposes would also help solve another painful problem of the developing world: unemployment. Based on conditions in India, investing the 90 billion dollars now spent by the developing world for military preparations in civilian sectors of the economy would provide an annual increase of 102.9 million jobs on the average for the economy; this could also be expressed as 36 million jobs in heavy industry and transportation, 82.8 million in light industry, 194 million jobs in the service sphere, and 208.5 million jobs in cottage industry.³⁶

Needless to say, these figures cannot be applied to all developing countries. The differences between them are too great with respect

to levels of development, economic structures, and the like. Moreover, unemployment is a complex phenomenon and does not arise only from a shortage of investment. Nonetheless, these calculations help form a picture of the enormous potential for increasing employment which is concealed in reducing military spending.

Even a partial reduction of military expenditures would allow a significant improvement in nutrition, public health, and education in the countries of the developing world. It has been calculated that to eliminate the shortage of food in these countries before the end of our century the annual investment in agriculture there should be enlarged by 5-6 billion dollars. This is just 1.0-1.5 percent of world expenditures for arms and four percent of the military appropriations of the developing countries themselves.

Only about five percent of the newborn babies in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries receive shots, and 5 million children die each year because of this. It would cost 600 million dollars a year to vaccinate all newborn babies. This is just 0.2 percent of world military spending and 0.7 percent of the expenditures of the developing countries. About 1.2 billion people today, chiefly in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, do not have good water; the result is a high rate of disease and death from intestinal infections. To solve this problem would require an additional expenditure of 3 billion dollars a year for several years. One out of four adults in the developing countries cannot read or write, and only half of the school-age children go to school. Appropriations for education would have to be increased by 1.2 billion dollars a year (0.3 percent of world military spending and 1.3 percent of the expenditures of the developing countries) to eliminate illiteracy among adults. Providing 100 million places in elementary school requires 3.2 billion dollars. Compared with military expenditures this is also a negligible amount, as were the others mentioned above. Were it not for the exhausting arms race, humanity would today have sufficient resources to solve many pressing problems of the developing world. There is no doubt, furthermore, that the situation of peaceful cooperation among states would promote more rapid social progress in the developing countries.

As long ago as 1893 F. Engels defining disarmament as a "guarantee of peace," expressed his confidence that it was "possible."³ Since that time the face of the world has changed radically and the ranks of the supporters of disarmament have grown beyond measure. The successful signing of agreements banning certain types of weapons of mass destruction illustrates that in our day the possibility of disarmament may be realized.

As L. I. Brezhnev remarked in his answers to questions by a PRAVDA correspondent, the international situation has become much more complex in the late 1970's and early 1980's. The ruling circles of the

of the United States and certain other NATO countries have taken a line hostile to the cause of detente, a line of spurring the arms race. Specifically, the enemies of detente are trying to take advantage of the events in Afghanistan. By his decision to delay indefinitely Senate review of the SALT II Treaty President Carter has encouraged the forces that favor continuing the arms race.

But the forward march of history will not be stopped. "We look to the future with optimism," L. I. Brezhnev stressed. "And it is well-founded optimism. We understand that the deliberate exacerbation of the international situation caused by American imperialism expresses their dissatisfaction with the growing strength of socialism, the rise of the national liberation movement, and the consolidation of the forces that support detente and peace. We know that the will of the peoples of the world has opened a road through all obstacles for that positive movement in world affairs that is richly expressed in the word 'detente.' This policy has deep roots. It is supported by powerful forces, and this policy has every chance to remain the guiding tendency in relations among nations."³⁸ The mass movement for disarmament will continue to grow. It will be made stronger if the alliance of the national liberation movement with the world socialist system and all democratic forces of the world is stronger and if their joint struggle against imperialism and materialism is coordinated and decisive.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 30, p 152.
2. Ibid., Vol 44, pp 148-149.
3. KOMMUNIST, 1979, No 9, p 5.
4. "World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfer, 1967-1976," U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, 1978, p 28. A critical attitude should be taken toward these and other calculations by bourgeois experts. Ignoring official figures on defense spending in the USSR and the other countries of the socialist communities, they give their own calculations which greatly overstate actual appropriations. Thus, the Disarmament Agency takes as the total military spending in the USSR and partially in the other countries of the Warsaw Pact the probable cost of equipping and maintaining equivalent armed forces under U. S. conditions. The authors themselves acknowledge that these calculations may contain "significant" errors (p 21).

Moreover, it should be considered that the Disarmament Agency follows a different classification of countries than the one used in our literature. They classify 28 nations as "developed" — Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, West Germany, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Holland, Norway, Portugal, Great Britain, the United

States, Australia, New Zealand, Austria, Finland, Ireland, Japan, the South African Republic, Sweden, and Switzerland as well as the USSR, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. All other countries, including some socialist countries and relatively well-developed capitalist countries, one of which is Israel, fall in the "developing" category (p 20).

5. Sivard, R. L., "World Military and Social Expenditures 1979," Leesburg (Virginia, United States), 1969, p 6.
6. Ibid., p 161.
7. "Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures. Updated Report of the Secretary General, United Nations," New York, 1978 (A/32/88/Rev. 1), p 15.
8. Sivard, R. L., op. cit., p 115.
9. Lydenberg, S., "Weapons for the World Update. U. S. Corporate Role in International Arms Transfers," New York, 1977, pp 7-8.
10. Ibid., p 8.
11. Calculated on the basis of Sivard, op. cit., p 115.
12. "Economic and Social Consequences...," op. cit.
13. Primakov, Ye. M., "Some Problems of the Developing Countries," KOMMUNIST, No 11, 1979, pp 88-89.
14. Nekrasov, V., "A Foolish, but Dangerous Myth," KOMMUNIST, No 12, 1979, p 95.
15. Lydenberg, S., op. cit., p 11.
16. Gallo, J.-A. V., "Arms Race in the Third World," "The Security Trap. Arms Race, Militarism, and Disarmament: A Concern for Christians," Rome, 1979, p 51.
17. Lydenberg, S., op. cit., pp 20, 27, 28, 53.
18. Calculated on the basis of Sivard, op. cit., p 28.
19. "Economic and Social Consequences...," op. cit., p 59.
20. Lydenberg, S., op. cit., p 3.
21. Ibid., p 10.

22. "Economic and Social Consequences..." op. cit., p 51.
23. Ibid., p 72.
24. Sivard, R. L., op. cit., p 11.
25. "Economic and Social Consequences..." op. cit., p 51.
26. Calculated on the basis of Sivard, op. cit., pp 28, 72.
27. For details see G. I. Mirskiy, "The Role of the Army in the Social Development of the Countries of Asia and Africa," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1979, No 3, pp 97-108.
28. For details see "Afrika: Problemy Sotsialisticheskoy Oriyentatsiy" [Africa: Problems of the Socialist Orientation], Moscow, 1976.
29. Ly 'enberg, S., op. cit., pp 11-12.
30. Thee, M., "Armaments Dynamic and Disarmament," "The Security Trap," op. cit., p 24.
31. Sivard, R. L., op. cit., p 8.
32. Ibid.
33. Barnaby, F., "The Mounting Prospects of Nuclear War," "The Security Trap," op. cit., p 22.
34. Gromyko, A. A., "Vo Imya Torzhestva Leninskoy Vneshney Politiki. Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" [In the Name of the Triumph of Leninist Foreign Policy. Selected speeches and articles], Moscow, 1978, p 591.
35. Calculated on the basis of "Economic and Social Consequences..." op. cit., p 44.
36. See Ye. A. Bragin, "Razvivayushchiyesya Strany: Gosudarstvennaya Politika i Promyshlennost'" [The Developing Countries: State Policy and Industry], Moscow, 1977, p 110.
37. Marx, K. and Engels, F., "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 22, p 387.
38. KOMMUNIST, 1980, No 2, p 17.

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11,176
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SOCIALIST ORIENTATION IN ASIA, AFRICA

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 3-9

[Article by R. A. Ul'yanovskiy: "The 20th Century and the National Liberation Movement"]

[Text] "In the coming, decisive battles of the world revolution the movement of the majority of the world's population, originally directed to national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism." — V. I. Lenin¹

Our century will go into the history of the human race as an age in which a transformation of the world of unprecedented scale and depth occurred. In the 20th century the revolutionary process became truly worldwide; the period of the great and irreversible triumphs of socialism arrived. The international socialist revolution against imperialism unfolded in the 20th century. It began when the heroic working class of Russia under the leadership of the party of Bolsheviks led by V. I. Lenin broke the chains of imperialism, when for the first time in history the struggle of working people against exploitation and social and national oppression was crowned with decisive victory, when the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the principal event of the century which fundamentally changed the course of development of the entire human race, occurred.

Lenin showed that the socialist revolution in the modern age cannot be represented as one battle on one front: socialism against imperialism. "This revolution," he wrote, "will be a whole age of bitter class struggle and every kind of social upheaval, a whole series of battles on the most varied fronts, arising out of the most diverse economic and political changes that have matured and demand a radical break with old relations."²

¹ Lenin, V. I., "Polnoye Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 44, p 38.

² Ibid., Vol 54, p 464.

Among the transformations that are a part of the process of world socialist revolution are the profound changes that have taken place and are taking place in the countries oppressed by imperialism, in particular the countries located in the vast regions of Asia and Africa. The movement of the peoples of these countries has become one of the important fronts of the world struggle between the forces of socialism and imperialism.

"Under the direct influence of the ideas of Lenin and Great October and the influence of the inspirational example of the development of world socialism, the national liberation movement has scored outstanding victories," says the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "The 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin." "Many young states, aspiring to eliminate backwardness, attain economic independence, and build a just society, are turning to Marxism-Leninism, to the experience of real socialism."³

Lenin made the great contribution of clarifying and substantiating the place of the struggle of the oppressed peoples in the world revolutionary process and their enormous anti-imperialist potential. He predicted that the oppressed peoples would become allies of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle for social liberation. History has confirmed Lenin's predictions, which were based on thorough analysis of socioeconomic laws and the ratios of basic political forces.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, causing radical changes in the ratio of forces on a world scale, created the foundation for carrying out Lenin's great plan of struggle against imperialism.

After the October Revolution and as a result of its influence the scale and nature of the revolutionary process in Asia and Africa changed fundamentally. These changes were a part of changes which took place in the socioeconomic and political panorama of the world after the victory of October.

The world socialist system emerged and grew strong. The international communist movement became the most influential political force of modern times. With the support of the socialist community the oppressed peoples attained liberation from colonial slavery and in place of the former colonies there emerged dozens of politically independent states. International detente became a key factor of world significance. The party of Lenin initiated it. Detente conditions promote further changes in the ratio of forces in favor of socialism, democracy and national liberation during the struggle between socialism and imperialism.

³ PRAVDA 16 December 1979.

As for the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, the victory of October gave them a new "reference point"; their movement took on fundamentally new scope and new features. Above all it should be observed that this movement gained unprecedented strength. The direct impact of the great uprising in Russia called forth a universal surge toward liberation. At the same time, the appearance and consolidation of real socialism, first in one country and then in a large group of countries, forced imperialism to concentrate its forces on the "central sector" of its struggle against anti-imperialist forces, that is, on the struggle against world socialism, while loosening its grip in the colonial "rear areas."

With the growing influence of socialism on world politics the oppressed East went directly into the age of formation of independent states, an age which the European peoples had passed through a century earlier.

History has confirmed Lenin's vision. He said that the peoples of the East would struggle to form their own national states just as had been done in Europe. In this matter as in all others, Lenin insisted upon the universality of the fundamental conclusions of scientific socialism. He pointed out the specific features of the East and, while giving great importance to them, believed that they would not cancel the effect of rules which are universal and operate in both West and East.

The process of formation of independent national states developed inexorably in the East. By the mid-1970's only isolated "islands" of imperialism's colonial system remained. It took centuries to put this system together; it collapsed in 25-30 years.

None of the politicians and ideologists of the bourgeois world, neither actual bourgeoisie nor reformers, could have imagined at the beginning of our century that in 60-70 years there would be dozens of new states in the world, that the developed capitalist countries would have to give serious consideration to the aspirations and policies of the liberated countries, and that the colonial peoples, whom they treated with contempt or, at best, condescension would become an important factor in world politics.

While V. I. Lenin was still alive a new tendency appeared in the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples; as time passed it became stronger and stronger. In the pre-October age the struggle for national liberation (in Europe and on the oppressed continents) was and could only have been a struggle for the formation of national bourgeois states. No matter how deep and protracted the national revolutionary struggle for self-determination of nations and liberation of oppressed peoples was, in the case of victory it ended with the formation of capitalist states. The movement for national independence on the social level was democratic and antifeudal. After October a

different situation came about. Lenin's vision was confirmed and the movement of oppressed peoples, which originally was directed against imperialism, became an anticapitalist movement. When the oppressed peoples found that they could rely on the aid of the victorious proletariat, the anticapitalist aspirations of revolutionary national-democratic forces, who were greatly influenced by socialist ideology, became realistic. In other words an alternative to capitalist development appeared, something which had not existed previously.

The Marxist-Leninist idea of the noncapitalist path begins from the notion that capitalist development may be bypassed or cut off on the basis of a definite level of development of world capitalism; it begins from a description of capitalism as a world system (this description was given by V. I. Lenin after analysis of the imperialist stage of capitalism). It begins with an attitude toward the revolutionary process as a process of world importance and scope. As the result of the uneven development of states, a pattern which develops fully on a world scale in the imperialist stage of capitalist development, the countries of the East found themselves on the oppressed periphery of the capitalist system, but nonetheless part of the world capitalist system. The deepening economic and political inequality of development of countries in the age of imperialism created the conditions for the victory of socialism, first in one country and then in a group of countries. World socialism became a mighty force and, taking advantage of comprehensive aid from it, the countries that had liberated themselves from colonial power were able to take up the path of building their own states and collectivizing production, the path of eliminating private ownership of the means of production, the path to a socialist goal, at a time when capitalism had not even become a system within the national boundaries of these countries. In other words, the Leninist theory of noncapitalist development derived this possibility from the rules of world capitalist development in that stage where it led to the socialist revolution and the formation of real socialism.

In this connection, one should also focus attention on the political prerequisites for liberated countries to make the transition to the path of the socialist orientation. The key international political prerequisite is growth in the influence of world socialism and the growing might of the socialist community, above all of the Soviet Union. When the working class of Russia made its socialist revolution, when it defended the great achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat in bitter fighting against internal and foreign reactionaries, and when it in alliance with the working peasants was building socialism, it was by the same token creating the prerequisites necessary for the peoples of the East to begin the transition to socialism without first being "stewed" in the capitalist pot. Thus, Russia was not only the first country which broke the chains of capitalism without first traversing the entire long and difficult path

of establishing capitalism as its only system; it was also the country where the transition to socialism began for that enormous part of the world population which was living under conditions of "immature" capitalism.

To go on, realization of the opportunity to bypass capitalist development or cut it off depends greatly on the nature of the political force that takes over leadership of the liberated country. If national bourgeois forces come to power, while they are at the helm of the state noncapitalist development remains an unrealized possibility. If revolutionary democratic, anticapitalist forces come into leadership, there is a political opportunity to take the noncapitalist path of development. If a communist party comes into leadership, capitalist development is cut off by a socialist revolution. Experience has shown that even economically backward countries where capitalism has already become the dominant economic system can adopt the socialist orientation. Naturally, there has not been and cannot be a situation where the transition to a socialist orientation is made under bourgeois leadership.

It is important to observe that noncapitalist development or (the same thing) socialist orientation, as a transitional stage on the path to socialism, nonetheless differs substantially from building socialism. When we use the phrase "socialist orientation" or "noncapitalist path," we mean to emphasize the specific features of this type of movement toward socialism, which differs significantly from what occurred and is occurring in the socialist countries.

There are, of course, major, fundamental differences between the countries with socialist orientations and the countries which are developing along the capitalist path. The countries of socialist orientation are waging a broad attack on private property in the decisive spheres; the bourgeoisie is subjected to limitations and the state sector plays a more and more crucial role.

But it would be a serious mistake to equate the processes taking place in the countries of noncapitalist development with the processes occurring in the socialist countries. We must not overlook such important, fundamental factors as the power of the working class, the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, the supplanting and elimination of capitalist relations, and the irreversibility of the changes that are occurring. None of these factors, which play important parts in the process of building socialism, exist at the present time in the countries of socialist orientation. This makes possible a "turn" toward capitalism, and examples of this can be observed in certain states that had formerly adopted the noncapitalist path. Nonetheless, the fact that a particular revolutionary democratic force may "turn" toward capitalism (under current conditions this means that it ceases to be a revolutionary democratic force) does not in any way testify

to the impossibility of successful development along the path of socialist orientation under the leadership of revolutionary democrats. On the contrary, this circumstance only emphasizes specific features of noncapitalist development, the difference between it and direct socialist transformation of society carried out under the leadership of the working class and proletarian party.

What path of socialist development is chosen by a particular country depends on the country itself, but to a certain extent it does not depend on that country alone. There is a mighty international force in the historical struggle against imperialism and for socialism; ultimately, it determines the destiny of the countries of Asia and Africa and demonstrates the realism of victory in the struggle against imperialism.

In the age of achieving national independence that followed October the formation of an independent state has not marked the end of the struggle for liberation, but rather the beginning of a new stage, the transition from struggle for national self-determination to the struggle for social liberation and, ultimately, for socialism. A centripetal movement of enormous force and attractiveness is developing as hundreds of millions of working people of the East move toward world socialism. This could not have happened before the victory of October.

Thus, the Great October Socialist Revolution and Leninist strategy and tactics have been enormously important for the social destiny of the peoples who were oppressed by imperialism and later liberated themselves from its dominance.

The Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and Soviet State and of the other countries of the socialist community serves as a bulwark for the liberation processes in the African and Asian countries. This is illustrated by the experience of many countries: Angola, which the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other socialist states provided with comprehensive aid when the imperialists were trying to thwart the formation of a revolutionary democratic regime there; the countries of the Middle East who are fighting against Israeli aggression supported by U. S. imperialism; the countries of Indochina, which broke the chains of neo-colonialism and are now building a socialist society. The imperialists do not like the fact that the prestige of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is growing in Africa and Asia. But such is the logic of history. This is a natural result of the Leninist policy of alliance with the national liberation movements of oppressed peoples.

V. I. Lenin emphasized the diversity of methods of imperialist domination many times. He showed that imperialism needs to exploit the countries which have fallen behind economically and which it has converted to the periphery of its system of economic exploitation. It must also be remembered that imperialism is finding allies within the

countries of Asia and Africa themselves, among the large bourgeoisie and reactionary bureaucrats, the landowner class, and the reactionary military. These social strata, with which imperialism maintains varied relations, are not its only support in these countries. Socioeconomic backwardness and the related weakness of the working class in a large majority of the Asian and African countries; ancient traditions of division based on tribe, religion, and caste; "mistrust of the oppressing nations in general, including mistrust of the proletariat of these nations,"⁴⁴ explained by long-standing oppression; the presence of an enormous lumpen proletariat in the urban centers of the result of horrendous agrarian overpopulation; a lack of experience with political democracy — all of these circumstances help imperialism maintain its influence, an influence that cannot be eliminated in a short historical time. Moreover, this influence does not automatically disappear when some particular country leaves the orbit of imperialism. One of the most important challenges of socialist transformation of the world is to completely eliminate the consequences of backwardness.

The universal nature of Marxism-Leninism and the rules of class struggle and social development discovered by it is more evident today than ever before. The dialectical interdependence of the national and social aspects of the anti-imperialist movement is becoming steadily closer and taking on new forms. The community of goals of socialism and anti-imperialist struggle by oppressed peoples is finding ever-fuller affirmation. The Leninist idea of movement toward socialism, bypassing or curtailing the capitalist stage of development, is being realized on a growing scale.

Experience has demonstrated the scientific quality of Lenin's vision. Soon after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution V. I. Lenin said that Soviet Russia would become a center around which liberation movements unite, including movements of peoples oppressed by imperialism. Today, in a new stage of their struggle, the peoples of Asia and Africa see the USSR and the socialist community as a mighty support and guarantee of the liberation goals already attained.

Lenin pointed out the objective necessity of a strategy aimed at insuring the unity of the world's anti-imperialist forces. The international communist movement consistently follows such a policy, waging an implacable struggle against those who try to destroy this unity for narrowly nationalistic reasons. "The CPSU and Soviet State," says the decree of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "The 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," "has done and is doing everything possible to build the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries and render aid and support to the peoples who are

⁴⁴Lenin, op. cit., Vol 41, p 167.

fighting against imperialism, neocolonialism, and racism, for strengthening peace and international security, stopping the arms race, and disarmament."⁵

Lenin emphasized the necessity of preserving and defending the independence of the communist and worker movement in the East, even in its most incipient form; today Marxist-Leninist parties in many countries of the East are operating in the vanguard of the struggle for liberation. Lenin called attention to the historical importance of the activity of the broad, noncommunist anti-imperialist organizations that include masses of working people; in many countries of the East today there are powerful revolutionary democratic peasant, trade union, and youth organizations who accept the ideas of scientific socialism and, in many cases, are participating actively in governing their countries.

Lenin pointed out that the anti-imperialist movement in the countries of Asia and Africa would, as it developed, grow into an anticapitalist movement; countries with more than 150 million population have today adopted the path of socialist orientation. Lenin called particular attention to the enormous role which the peasants of the oppressed countries would have to play in later phases of the world revolutionary process; it is clear today that the peasants have been the largest force participating in the national liberation movements, armed uprisings, and revolutions and that further involvement of the peasantry on the side of the working class (on an international scale and within particular countries of the East) is one of the crucial problems of the communist movement. V. I. Lenin foresaw the enormous potential of the communist movement in the countries of the East; communist parties in many of these countries today have become mass parties with strong reputations who stand at the helm of state.

The profound transformations which have radically changed the appearance of the contemporary world are steadily providing convincing new proof of the truth and invincible force of Lenin's ideas.

⁵PRAVDA 16 December 1979.

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11,176
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REVIEW OF UL'YANOVSKIY BOOK ON PROBLEMS FACING ASIA, AFRICA

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 200-204

[Review by A. M. Model' of the book "Sovremennyye Problemy Azii i Afriki" (Contemporary Problems of Asia and Africa) by R. A. Ul'yanovskiy, Moscow, Glavnaya Redaktsiya Vostochnoy Literatury Izdatel'stva Nauka, 1978, 295 pages]

[Text] The name of the author of this book is very familiar to Soviet and foreign readers. R. A. Ul'yanovskiy has studied the theoretical problems of the national liberation movement with great benefit for many years.

The work under review is not a monographic investigation of a particular problem. In this book the author poses and analyzes a whole set of extremely important and pressing problems that are relevant, in the current phase of their development, to the politics and economics of the countries that have liberated themselves from colonial oppression. Even a simple enumeration of these problems would take a great deal of space, for it is a matter of truly basic issues that are vitally important for the destiny of the developing world and for the world revolutionary process as a whole. By reading the book the reader gets a clear idea of the complexity, acuteness, and diversity of the processes occurring today in the countries of the East and Africa. The reader has an opportunity to get a better perspective on the situation that has developed there today, to understand the alignment of class forces and distinctive features of the class struggle in this part of our planet more thoroughly, and finally, to form opinions on possible future courses of development.

All of these matters are reviewed in the book in light of the laws of class struggle and social development discovered by Marxism-Leninism with due regard for the dialectical interdependence that exists between the national and social aspects of the anti-imperialist movement.

The author devotes special attention to analysis of the fundamental ideas and principles on problems of the national liberation movement formulated in the works of V. I. Lenin and reveals the lasting importance of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution for the historical destiny of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The book shows convincingly how these Leninist ideas and principles have been and continue to be creatively elaborated in the program documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the policies of the CPSU and Soviet state with respect to countries that have thrown off the yoke of colonialism and taken up the path of building a new life.

"The fundamental conclusions presented by V. I. Lenin after the victory of October with respect to the national liberation movement and the anti-imperialist struggle," the book emphasizes, "keep their full importance today too. Among these conclusions we should include: the goal of unifying all anti-imperialist forces on a world scale; the policy of a united anti-imperialist front in each country of Asia and Africa; the idea of the decisive role which the working class of the liberated countries will play during the international socialist revolution against imperialism; the conclusion concerning the enormous revolutionary potential of the peasants in these countries; the theory of the possibility of bypassing or curtailing the capitalist stage of development; the need for all-out strengthening and defense of the communist movement, even in its most incipient form" (p 53). Observing that V. I. Lenin worked out and developed the most important methodological principles of the strategy and tactics of communist parties, R. A. Ul'yanovskiy shows how he applied these principles creatively with respect to the East and how they played a crucial role in the struggle to bring down the colonial system. They are exceptionally important in the current phase of the national liberation movement as well and give invaluable help to fighters for social progress in the liberated countries.

The Leninist idea of the alliance of the USSR and the national liberation movement continues to be an immutable foundation of the policy of the CPSU and Soviet state, as the book emphasizes. The entire historical experience of the Soviet Union, development of the national liberation movement, and alignment of forces in the international arena today confirm this conclusion.

Theoretical interpretation of the many diverse economic, social, and political processes unfolding today in the developing countries is an important challenge for Soviet social science. In this respect the book under review, which considers basic and at the same time highly complex aspects of the current phase of the national liberation revolutions, will unquestionably be very helpful in solving this problem.

It is common knowledge that the actual possibility that the peoples of economically backward countries could, with the aid of countries where socialism had been victorious, bypass the stage of capitalist development which brings suffering, poverty, and deprivation to the broad masses of common people, was theoretically substantiated in the works of V. I. Lenin. R. A. Ul'yanovskiy thoroughly analyzes Lenin's statements on this question. He devotes many pages of the book to theoretical and practical aspects of realizing the Leninist idea of the possibility of noncapitalist development in the current countries of socialist orientation in Asia and Africa. From the point of view of the book's author, it is very important that the socialist orientation is itself already a historically established objective reality, an inalienable part of the world revolutionary process. The experience accumulated by the countries that are following the noncapitalist path of development makes it possible to judge the significant advances they have been able to make in the fields of economics and raising natural culture and education, but at the same time to understand the reasons for and nature of those enormous difficulties which these countries must face constantly.

In this connection R. A. Ul'yanovskiy cautions against a certain idealization of noncapitalist development whose traces can sometimes be found in Soviet literature devoted to the developing countries (p 87). In his opinion, the reason for this is an identification of experience with transformations in the Soviet Central Asian republics or Mongolia and those processes taking place today in the Asian and African countries with socialist orientations.

The author's statement of the principal dangers which must be encountered when bypassing the capitalist stage of development or curtailing it will unquestionably be interesting to the reader. R. A.

Ul'yanovskiy identifies three principal dangers. The first, in his opinion, is underestimating the reactionary role of the feudal land-owner system and patriarchal-feudal and clan-tribe relations, which restrain the revolutionary activism of the peasants and inhibit the country's movement toward revolutionary progress. As a result, the revolutionary leaders are cut off from the peasants, who are the bulk of the population. The second danger lies in underestimating the many and varied elements of capitalism that exist in the economies of these countries. Such an underestimation tends and, as experience demonstrates, actually leads to a strengthening of capitalist relations and a resultant consolidation of the bloc of reactionary bourgeoisie, landowners, and kulaks, in alliance with imperialism. It is well-known that in those cases where this bloc is not properly curbed by the government and the people, it may and actually does end, as the examples of Ghana, Egypt, and Mali show, with a halt to noncapitalist development or digression from the progressive course. Finally, the third danger is ignoring the ethical, national cultural, and historical characteristics and psychological makeup of the people who are gradually leaving the capitalist path of development and moving toward a socialist orientation (pp 88-89).

R. A. Ul'yanovskiy also notes the danger of mechanically copying the experience of developed and moderately developed capitalist countries in the transition to socialism.

The book develops in detail the question of the nature and evolution of revolutionary democracy and its strong and weak points. While giving the process of convergence of revolutionary national democratic parties with scientific socialism a positive evaluation overall and observing that in a number of countries with socialist orientations the leading role of the working class has been proclaimed and the ruling parties in these countries have declared scientific socialism to be their ideology, the author emphasizes that only practical work, real politics, can be a reliable criterion of true adherence to scientific socialism (p 91).

The book gives a profound and exact description of the extraordinarily complex situation which exists at the present time in the countries of socialist orientation, a situation marked by contradictions, acute social conflicts, and constant pressure by imperialist forces from without combined with vigorous activity by reactionaries within. All this, particularly taking into account certain subjective weaknesses, makes it possible that there will be various deviations, zigzags, sharp turns, and finally retreats. But the general trend, as the book points out, is for the socialist orientation to become an increasingly influential and notable factor in social development, a realistic and, most importantly, promising path to social progress.

One of the chapters of the book under review is entitled "The Economic Front of the Struggle Against Neocolonialism." Observing that imperialism no longer has either the forces or the potential to regain its political monopoly of power in the Afro-Asian countries, that its monopoly on foreign trade, credit, supply of equipment, extraction of raw materials and fuel, and training of national cadres has been undermined, that the military might of imperialism in the liberated countries has been weakened and, finally, that its monopoly on weapons deliveries and training of military cadres has been broken, R. A. Ul'yanovskiy nonetheless emphasizes that the political independence and minor advances made by the liberated countries in national economic development do not at all mean that imperialist exploitation of former colonial peoples has stopped. "Exploitation," the book says, "is in full swing. It adapts skillfully to changing circumstances, takes on new forms, and becomes more intensive. As a result, the objective, antagonistic contradiction between imperialism and the liberated countries continues to be acute and encompasses all facets of life regardless of the inclination of some of them for pro-Western policies" (p 212).

After a detailed consideration of the evolution of the forms and methods of contemporary economic neocolonialism, R. A. Ul'yanovskiy analyzes the struggle of the developing countries to change international

economic ties within the capitalist system that are founded on inequality and exploitation. The author thoroughly substantiates his conclusion that a revision of international political relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, detente, and disarmament, which is consistently advocated by the Soviet Union and countries of the world socialist communities, objectively presupposes a revision of international economic relations based on the principles of economic equality, mutually advantageous cooperation, and elimination of any discrimination (p 232).

The author devotes many vivid pages of his book to the contemporary ideological problems of the liberated countries of Asia and Africa. Within a brief review it would, of course, be difficult to mention them all. As just one example, I will mention the well-argued analysis of contemporary nationalism in the developing countries and the attitudes of Marxist-Leninists to it (pp 79-83). In the author's opinion, among the great diversity of anti-imperialist groups a "radical revolutionary democratic and left-centrist wing which has become the guiding force of social progress in many liberated countries" is developing successfully and gaining strength (p 84).

In light of the events taking place today in some Asian countries, the description given by R. A. Ul'yanovskiy of Pan-Islamism is especially timely. This is not a religion, but rather a "definite, class-based political position" (p 85), an ideological and political school that opposes social progress and democracy

In our opinion, the author was entirely justified in a book devoted basically to problems linked to the contemporary phase of the national liberation movement to include sections devoted largely to questions of methodology: "General Patterns of Socioeconomic Development and the Problem of Specific Characteristics of the Countries of the East" and "Some Distinctive Features of the Development of the Countries of Asia and Africa in the Past and in the Current Period." These sections are very interesting on more than a mere theoretical level because the problem of the concrete manifestations of general patterns of historical development in the unique and highly specific conditions of the countries of the East and Africa is a very timely problem. Investigations and decisions in the most varied spheres of politics, economics, and ideology in the liberated countries depend on a correct understanding of this problem. These chapters give the reader a very graphic picture of the author's skills. He is an outstanding polemicist who combines profound knowledge in the field of Marxist-Leninist theory with an outstanding mastery of broad factual material; he joins a vivid narrative with logical and well-constructed arguments. R. A. Ul'yanovskiy formulates his position on this problem as follows: "We have considered only a few problems of what is known as the exceptional uniqueness of the East in comparison with the patterns of development of the West and we conclude that the countries of the East

are, with all their specific characteristics, generally developing just as the countries of the West do, taking into account the concrete historical period. We further conclude that the specific characteristics of development of the Eastern countries fit perfectly well within the general socioeconomic rules established by Marxist-Leninist science" (p 144).

We have read the book and, of course, some critical remarks could be made. Not all the questions are treated fully enough. There are some formulas, but without sufficient factual material. The structure of the book could be better; it seems to break off and stop at places, and it does not end with the chapter on the energy crisis. The book would unquestionably be improved by a concluding section. It is entirely understandable that life and the course of development in the liberated countries during the time since the author completed his work on the investigation have made some things more clear and in some ways modified conclusions drawn by the author. But I think that the main thing has been confirmed. Despite all the difficulties and complexities, the struggle to reinforce the political sovereignty that has been gained, the struggle to achieve economic independence and overcome backwardness, the struggle for social progress in the liberated countries of Asia and Africa is being won. And this is precisely the basic idea of R. A. Ul'yanovskiy's book.

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INTERNATIONAL

RELATIONS IN FAR EAST STUDIED IN NEW BOOK

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 3, May-Jun 80 pp 184-187

[Review by L.I. Belikova and A.S. Stepanov of the book "Istoriya Mezhdunarodnykh Otnosheniy na Dal'nem Vostoke 1945-1977" edited by S.L. Tikhvinskiy et al., Khabarovsk, 1978, 560 pages]

[Text] In the new collective labor of Soviet scholars studies are being made of international relations from 1945 to 1977 in the broadest and most complex region in terms of political-diplomatic relations--the Far East. In this monograph they analyze a large circle of problems of international relations in the Far East--problems distinguished by their complexity, dynamism and the growing role of the forces of peace and the feverish activity of its opponents.

By the term "Far East" the authors mean the governments and territories situated in East Asia: the Soviet Union, Japan, China, Korea, Mongolia and a part of the Pacific Ocean. Studying political realities, they have given significant attention to the mutual relations of these governments with the United States. Acquaintance with this book confirms that the extensive and deep scholarly study of the most important questions of international relations in the Far East, undertaken by these authors, testifies to their unquestionable urgency and important theoretical and practical significance.

The work begins with a chapter in which the international political results of the Second World War in the Far East are examined. As a result of the rout of Japanese militarism in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role, enormous changes took place in that region of the world: the strengthening of the USSR's position and the position of the democratic world powers and the weakening of the camp of imperialism. As the facts and documents presented by this authorial collective and subjected to deep and many-sided analysis confirm, in the Far East in the postwar period a new international situation formed in which the democratic foreign policy prevailed over the imperialist: in the great spaces of Europe and Asia, the world socialist system formed and strengthened its positions; the plans of the imperialist reaction for "thrusting back," "liberation," "containment"

of communism" were frustrated; the dangerous breeding ground of aggression in southeast Asia (U.S. aggression against Vietnam) was quelled. It was necessary for American imperialism, which had conducted a criminal war in Korea, to undertake one more aggression--in Indochina, to sacrifice tens of thousands more American lives, in order to finally realize that even so mighty a world power as the U.S. cannot break the will of a people fighting for their freedom and independence. This does not mean, as is noted in this monograph, that the ruling circles of the imperialist states, whose formation of foreign policy reflects the pressure of the military-industrial complex, renounced their previous plans. On the contrary, Washington's insistence on the militarization of Japan, its joining a military-political security treaty with Japan in 1960 (which is one of the sources of tension in the Far East), its generous support of the puppet regimes in South Korea and Taiwan, and similar policies leave no doubt concerning the true goals and intentions of U.S. foreign policy.

At the same time, as the material of this book testifies, the strengthening of Japan's economic might did not lead to the reinforcing of her position in the world arena. The close military-political link with the United States limited her freedom of diplomatic maneuvers and quenched initiative in the resolution of international problems. This is the source of the contradictory, inconsistent nature of Japan's foreign policy, which could not help but reflect upon her international authority (p 348).

On the other hand, Japan's swift economic development in the sixties brought about essential changes in the disposition of forces in the world arena. Japan, together with the United States and Western Europe, became, as was noted at the 24th CPSU Congress, one of the basic centers of imperialist competition between which "the economic and political competitive struggle is developing with ever greater sharpness." Facts and events taking place in the interrelationships of the great imperialist powers in recent years confirm the validity of the conclusion of the 25th CPSU Congress about the future aggravation and deepening contradictions within imperialism.

The Soviet Union unswervingly speaks out in confirmation of good-neighbor relations with Japan, a fact which is confirmed by the numerous facts and documents presented in this research, particularly the fruitful development of large-scale trade-economic links between the USSR and Japan on an egalitarian and mutually advantageous basis. At the same time the USSR decisively rejects attempts of Japan's military circles to exaggerate the so-called "problem of northern territories," which signifies the illegal and unfounded Japanese pretensions to a series of islands from the formation of the Kurile range, which belongs to the Soviet Union.

Also topical are the sections of the book containing a critical analysis of Soviet-Chinese relations in the post-war years. The authors remind readers of the signing of February 14, 1951 of the friendship treaty, vowing mutual aid for a period of 30 years (incidentally, unilaterally annulled in 1979 by a series of Chinese leaders), and of the agreement

concerning the Chinese Changchun Railroad, Port Arthur and Dal'niy, and the establishment of PRC long-term economic credit, etc. On the basis of these treaties and agreements fruitful Soviet-Chinese relations developed, which is demonstrated, in particular, by interesting evidence presented in this work on the effective, multi-faceted and guileless help given by the Soviet Union to China in establishing and developing its agriculture (pp. 114-118). As it later turned out, the nationalistic wing of the leadership of China's Communist party (CCP), with Mao Zedong at the head, regarded the collaboration of the USSR and China as a temporary measure, a tactical move, necessary in order to insure the security of the PRC, with the help of the USSR and other socialist countries to stabilize the government, strengthen and develop the economy, and then to turn to the realization of hegemonic, expansionist ambitions, borrowed from the Chinese emperors' conception of "Chinese centrism" (p 114).

Ignoring the interests of the Chinese people and the fate of the people of the entire planet, the Maoist CCP leadership began to carry out its expansionist strategic plans: not only to "without fail secure all of Southeast Asia," but "to subdue the entire world." The doctrine of the fatal inevitability of war, blatant anti-Sovietism, interference in the affairs of other peoples--such were the most important features of the foreign policy of the PRC imposed upon the Chinese people by the Maoist leadership. The primary means of achieving their anti-people and, in essence, criminal goals, the authors emphasize, was and is considered by "Peking's strategists to be utilization of the struggle between socialist and imperialist world systems, and, what the Maoists would like most of all to bring about, a total clash between the USSR and the United States under conditions in which the instigators themselves would not be affected by the flames of war" (p 428).

In carrying out their wild plans for the creation of "an extremely broad international united front" in the struggle against the USSR, the Maoists openly form blocs with the most important circles of world imperialism: from the fascist junta in Chile to the racist dictators of South Africa.

In this context one clearly sees the true intentions of Beijing's leaders, who recently concluded a "peace and friendship" treaty with Japan, one of whose articles Peking interprets with an anti-Soviet subtext.

The world community could not help but be concerned by the foundations on which diplomatic relations between the PRC and the United States have been established. Normalization of relations between two sovereign governments is a normal procedure and is within their scope. The Soviet Union has spoken out and continues to speak out for the betterment of mutual relations between countries, but the question is on what basis the normalization occurs, what goals each side sets. In this connection, attention is drawn to the circumstance that in a joint American-Chinese communique expressions are used, the anti-Soviet context of which, in view of the usual lexicon of the Chinese leaders, cannot be doubted.

Understandably, observed L.I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Union will follow with the greatest attention the consequences of American-Chinese relations and will draw corresponding conclusions for Soviet politics.

The authors are correct in stressing that the only reasonable alternative, as the lessons of history testify and the contemporary situation confirms, is a plan for guaranteeing the security of Asia through the strength of the Asiatic countries themselves, a plan put forth by Soviet diplomacy as early as the thirties. Under present favorable conditions in the world arena, when the process of detente continues to broaden and deepen, filled in with specific material content, the idea of organizing the security of Asia on the basis of uniting the forces of all Asian countries opens a perspective for fruitful collaboration of all interested countries for the benefit of the entire world.

This pithy and interesting book, bringing little known documents to the attention of scholars, testifies to the great research carried out by an author's collective in studying the history of international relations. This is a serious monographic work, distinguished by methodological clarity, logical structure and the convincing foundation for conclusions and positions put forth. This book, as a deep generalizing study of a topical problem, will be received with interest, not only by specialists, but also by a wide circle of readers who study the history of international relations and the history of the Soviet government's foreign policy.

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INTERNATIONAL

PAKISTAN'S ROLE IN U.S., CHINESE DESIGNS

Moncow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTHOBHENIYA in Russian
No 5, May 80 signed to press 21 Apr 80 pp 25-37

[Article by A. Ural'skiy: "Pakistan at the Crossroads--A Policy of Good-Neighborliness or Confrontation?"]

[Excerpts] Pakistan has been frequently mentioned in the world press of late, along with Iran and Afghanistan. And not simply mentioned. In the Western press, especially the American press, Pakistan is referred to as the "main pivot" of U.S. policy in Southwest Asia, a state urgently in need of military aid. In the President's annual address to the U.S. Congress and in his "State of the Union" message, which he delivered in the Congress on 23 January 1980, the program of military and economic aid for Pakistan was referred to as "one of our most urgent matters." Pakistan's current problems are depicted in approximately the same light in Beijing and in Moslem reactionary circles.

Just what manner of state is this nation located in the northwestern part of the subcontinent of South Asia? What has evoked such great interest in Pakistan on the part of international reaction?

Recent events have shown that in Pakistan's foreign policy, and this has occurred more than once in the past, a trend toward exacerbation of relations with neighboring states, primarily India and Afghanistan, is beginning to prevail once more.

Pakistan's foreign policy course has passed through several stages of development. During its first years of existence as an independent nation it followed a generally neutralistic line. A phase of ever-increasing orientation toward the United States began in the early 1950's. A mutual defense agreement between Pakistan and the United States was concluded in May 1954, which was followed immediately by Pakistan's entry into the military blocs of SEATO (September 1954) and the Baghdad Pact (September 1955). The name of the latter was changed to CENTO in 1959. A cooperation agreement between Pakistan and the United States was signed in March 1959, which had a clearly defined military overtone. The one-sided

foreign policy orientation toward the imperialist powers created great dissatisfaction among broad segments of the population in Pakistan and resulted in its isolation in international affairs. Fears based on Pakistan's participation in U.S. plans and actions specially increased after the American U-2 plane was sent into USSR air space for spying from Pakistani territory in the spring of 1960.

A reconsideration of foreign policy strategy began in the early 1960's. It was prompted by the desire of the growing national bourgeoisie to bring about more advantageous conditions for cooperation with foreign monopolies and to increase the nation's international prestige. The trend toward increased independence became stronger, as demonstrated by Pakistan's abandonment of the one-sided orientation toward the Western powers and by an expansion of cooperation with the socialist states and with the Afro-Asian nations. Pakistan broke with the SEATO and CENTO military blocs.

Relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist nations have expanded markedly, especially in the economic area. More than 20 textile factories, radio stations and the nation's largest thermoelectric power plant in the Guddu region have been built or are under construction in Pakistan with assistance from the USSR. Soviet specialists are helping with the search for oil and gas deposits. The largest Soviet-Pakistani cooperative project was the building of the Karachi Metallurgical Plant, which, according to prominent Pakistani officials, should become the nucleus for the nation's industrialization.

Pakistan's course toward greater independence and toward the development of friendly relations with all nations has helped increase its prestige in the world. One demonstration of this was Pakistan's election in 1975 as a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council for 1976-77. The positive changes in Pakistan's foreign policy unquestionably contributed to the normalization of relations with its nearest neighbors—India and Afghanistan. Important milestones along the way were the meeting in Tashkent between leaders of Pakistan and India in January 1966, initiated by the Soviet Union, and the Simla Agreement signed by India's Prime Minister I. Gandhi and Pakistan's President Z. A. Bhutto in July of 1972.

At the same time tensions have predominated mainly in Pakistan's relations with India throughout the nation's existence as an independent state. Pakistan has fought three wars with India, not including the border conflict near the Rann of Kutch in April and June of 1965. A new armed conflict flared up between Pakistan and India over Kashmir in September of 1965, and the Kashmir issue is still being used by certain groups in the nation to inflame religious and chauvinistic feelings. The path of confrontation with India, onto which the United States and China have constantly nudged Pakistan, finally led to armed conflict in December of 1971 as a result of events in the former East Pakistan.

During the past few decades Pakistan has repeatedly been a source of military tensions primarily in its relations with India. It has now become the main staging ground for subversive activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The nation has become one of the active participants in that undeclared war long conducted against the Afghan people. It is from Pakistani territory that open aggression is being carried out against a sovereign state, the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan].

Immediately after the April revolution in Afghanistan, so-called "refugee" camps were set up on Pakistani territory, immediately adjacent to the Afghan border, which, with the aid of American and Chinese special services, were turned into centers for recruiting, arming and training mercenaries sent into the DRA. Afghan counterrevolutionary organizations with the connivance of the authorities created an extensive network of support bases and stockpiles of weapons in the nation. According to a report by the DRA's minister of the interior there are presently no fewer than 50 support points and up to 20 special "bases," where armed groups of Afghan counterrevolutionaries are trained by Pakistani military instructors under the supervision of American and Chinese "advisers." From June 1978 to November 1979 alone 30,000 armed mercenaries were trained at these bases, which formed the nucleus of a force to invade Afghanistan. Gangs of mercenaries driven out of Afghanistan also bided their time and were re-formed and reoutfitted there.

Pakistan's leaders are not simply providing the detachments of bandits and saboteurs with all round support but are in fact the organizers of their subversive activities against the DRA. While banning any sort of political activity in their own nation, Pakistani authorities at the same time give Afghan counterrevolutionary organizations protection in Pakistani territory. The leaders of anti-Afghan groups have been provided with office space and living quarters in Peshawar, Lahore and other cities, and are free to travel throughout the nation and to engage in inflammatory rhetoric. Authorities have placed two radio broadcasting stations in Peshawar and Quetta at the disposal of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries. With their concurrence the counterrevolutionary newspapers "Smert' za Veru" [Guide for the Faith] and (KHUBE-ISLAM) are printed in Pakistan and sent to the DRA. All the restrictions on Afghan immigrant organizations in Pakistan were lifted in January of this year, and President Zia-ul-Haq went so far as to announce the creation of a "special presidential fund" to help the "refugees," or more accurately, bandits engaged in armed warfare against a neighboring Moslem people. Pakistan's army command is helping to create a single military organization for Afghan reactionary forces, supporting the movement of groups of saboteurs and terrorists into the DRA, generally supervising their activities and outfitting them with arms and ammunition.

We are therefore essentially speaking about a large-scale operation to organize and outfit on Pakistani territory forces for conducting acts of intervention against the DRA and of making Pakistan a center of open

aggression carried out from Pakistani territory against a neighboring, independent and nonaligned state. It would be appropriate to mention in connection with this the fact that a document approved by the UN General Assembly defines "the sending out of armed gangs, groups, irregular forces or mercenaries by a state or on behalf of a state, which employ armed force against another state" as an act of aggression.⁵ It is precisely this kind of aggression which is now being carried out against Afghanistan from Pakistani territory.

Babruk Karmal, general secretary of the NDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] Central Committee, chairman of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the DRA, recently stated that there is proof of the fact that Chinese, Pakistani and Egyptian officers and soldiers, as well as American "instructors," along with Afghan mercenaries, are participating in acts of armed provocation against Afghanistan. And it was certainly no surprise that 16 Pakistani citizens were among the arrested saboteurs who incited riots in Kabul on 22 and 23 February of this year to set the stage for a counterrevolutionary uprising. They distributed pamphlets prepared in advance at centers for the training of gangs on Pakistani territory.

After losing their base of operations in Iran and their hopes of subverting the revolutionary process in Afghanistan, the imperialists and hegemonists placed their hopes on Pakistan. They want to turn it into a bridgehead for carrying out their aggressive plans against Afghanistan, India and Iran and to involve Pakistan as deeply as possible in the risky undertaking they have contrived in the Middle East and in South Asia. "After many years of complaining that the world paid no attention to it, Pakistan has recently become the center of attention...," the American magazine NEWSWEEK states. "As a result of events in Afghanistan, Pakistan has suddenly discovered that it is a bastion in South Asia." "American intelligence experts," the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES says, "believe that Pakistan's geographic location provides a potential advantage for the West." These statements are echoed by the West German FRANKFURTER ALGEMEINE reporting on strategic military plans to turn Pakistan "into the main support point of the West in that area."

The "Carter Doctrine," which focuses upon the creation of a military alliance between the United States and nations located in the Indian Ocean area, assigns none other than Pakistan the primary role in the struggle against the Afghan revolution. In its disclosure of Pentagon plans the American radio and television corporation CBS reports that in the initial phase the United States plans to send military aircraft and pilots to Pakistan, followed by servicing personnel and equipment. The American Navy will then begin making calls at Pakistani ports, and in the final stage it is planned to bring U.S. ground forces into the nation.

5. "UN Document: Resolution No 33/14 (XXIX) adopted at the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly."

The Carter government hastily announced that it was providing Pakistan with emergency military and economic aid in the amount of 400 million dollars. It did not even consider it necessary to consult with the Pakistani government on the matter. It also circumvented a decision by the U.S. Congress, on the basis of which the White House announced in 1978 that it was instituting an embargo on American arms shipments and cut off economic aid to Pakistan as a result of that nation's refusal to halt its nuclear test programs. "Less than a year ago," the newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR wrote, "the government of Jimmy Carter was prepared to deprive Pakistan of military aid as long as it refused to provide assurance that it would not create nuclear weapons.... The U.S.A. is now offering Pakistan comprehensive economic and military aid."

The question of an emergency enlargement of military aid to Pakistan was also discussed at the NATO Council's meeting in Brussels and during U.S. Defense Secretary H. Brown's visit to China in January of this year. The NEW YORK TIMES wrote that during the meeting with Brown "the Beijing leaders expressed a willingness to increase secret shipments of Chinese small-arms to the rebels in Afghanistan." This was the purpose of a visit to Pakistan by Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Hua. During his visit he assured the leaders of the gangs of mercenaries that China would give them assistance and support "without any restrictions whatsoever." The newspaper (DOON) reported that the Chinese party to the talks in Islamabad announced that Pakistan's weapons needs "would be fully satisfied."

The matter of providing Pakistan with military and economic aid was the main subject of discussions conducted during a visit to Islamabad by an American delegation headed by Z. Brzezinski, the President's national-security adviser. Islamabad rejected the U.S. offer for tactical reasons, in the hope of obtaining larger aid. It turned out that the Pakistani generals were not satisfied with 400 million dollars, which Zia-ul-Haq called "a trifle." They requested "at least 2 billion dollars" and raised the issue of changing the American-Pakistani agreement of 1959 into a "new agreement approved by the U.S. Congress." The visitors from overseas assured them that the 400 million dollars was "only the beginning" and expressed their willingness to review and enlarge the agreement of 1959 for purposes of strengthening its military provisions. According to the newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES "various plans of action involving American forces" were also discussed during the talks. In the opinion of observers, these plans, contrary to official statements, call for making military bases on Pakistani territory available to the United States.

Naturally, Islamabad and Washington are not unaware of the reaction evoked by the idea of an American-Pakistani military alliance, both within Pakistan itself and in its neighboring states. Various subterfuges are therefore being employed—for example, the creation of a sort of international consortium of Western powers and Islamic nations for providing military and economic aid to Pakistan. Saudi Arabia, for example, decided to provide

Pakistan with 700 million dollars for purchasing weapons and hiring mercenaries to operate inside the DRA. It is also believed that Saudi Arabia will assume a considerable portion of the cost of modernizing Pakistani airfields, which could be used by the American Air Force.

Pakistan's conversion into a tool for implementing the aggressive plans of imperialism and hegemonism, which are directed against the peoples of Southwest Asia, is being carried out with the far-fetched excuse that it is necessary "to repel a menace from the north." L. I. Brezhnev underscored in an interview with a PRAVDA correspondent the fact that "assertions to the effect that the Soviet Union has some sort of expansionist plans with respect to Pakistan or Iran or to the other nations of that region are absolutely false." There is irrefutable proof, however, of aggressive action carried out against Afghanistan from Pakistani territory.

Nonetheless, Western and Chinese propaganda is engaged in a noisy campaign concerning the danger of a "Soviet invasion" ostensibly hanging over Pakistan. Emissaries of the Western powers and China, who have become constant visitors there, are especially zealous in this matter. Pakistani government circles are actively playing up to them. It is highly interesting that they began expressing with such zeal their deliberate concern about Soviet military assistance to the DRA after consulting with representatives of the United States and China.

The Pakistani press itself writes about the far-fetched and false nature of the theory of a "threat to the security" of Pakistan, which ostensibly arose as a result of the events in Afghanistan. The newspaper TAAMIR, for example, quite recently underscored the fact that "problems of strengthening the nation's security can and should be resolved, not by receiving foreign military aid, however, but by establishing peace on the Pakistani-Afghan border.... If Pakistan would consistently adhere to the line of refusing to make its territory available for subversive activities against the DRA, then the danger of local Pakistani-Afghan conflicts would also be removed. The need for Soviet forces to remain any longer on Afghan territory would also disappear." The local press also contains answers to the question of what dictated the "concern" of NATO and Beijing for Pakistan's security. Explaining the goals of the United States and their allies in the Middle East and in South Asia, the weekly VIEWPOINT states: "Pakistan should remember that the West is attempting to exploit the Afghanistan situation for its purposes, to regain the military bases it has lost in the area and to create its own special-interest areas."

In the past Pakistan has been assigned the role of a junior partner in the aggressive plans of the United States and China. Following the disintegration of the SEATO and CENTO military blocs, this nation was the only state in the area to retain its allied ties with the United States. Islamabad has long maintained close political and military contacts with Washington and with Beijing. The latter are also operating "in tanu

in the armament of Pakistan, and Beijing is one of the largest suppliers of weapons to the military regime. According to Zia-ul-Haq the total amount of Chinese "aid" in 1966 reached 2 billion dollars. Beijing provided the Pakistani army with around 700 tanks and several squadrons of fighter planes. A tank engine plant and several weapons manufacturing complexes were built there with Chinese assistance. A bomber repair plant, built with Chinese assistance, recently began operating in Pakistan. Hundreds of Chinese military specialists are in the nation. Military assistance from those two states increased especially after completion of the strategic Karakorum Highway, which links China with Pakistan.

The skilfully fomented uproar over the "threat to the security" of Pakistan was therefore designed to detract the public's attention away from the real danger of the spread of military confrontation and the arms race throughout South Asia, which is created by the militarization of Pakistan. Today, at a time when American imperialism and Chinese hegemonism are inflaming tensions there, the conversion of Pakistan into a military arsenal and a staging area for acts of aggression against neighboring states involves an especially serious danger to peace and stability in Asia.

According to foreign press reports the Western powers and China are attempting to convince India that the arms shipments to Pakistan and to create a Washington-Islamabad-Beijing axis do not pose a threat to India. At the same time, American-Pakistani talks on revising the 1959 agreement discussed, as acknowledged by the Pakistani press, the question of giving a new military agreement an openly anti-Indian focus. According to the newspaper PAKISTAN TIMES directing this agreement "against the Soviet Union alone is not enough, since Pakistan is actually encountering aggression from the south." In other words, a new agreement between the United States and Pakistan should also apply to India.

India is especially concerned about the continued buildup of subversive actions against it on the part of China and the ever-increasing involvement of Pakistan in these actions. The Indian press reports that Pakistani fighters recently violated India's air space near the city of Poonch located in the area of Kashmir controlled by Pakistan. One of the largest centers in Pakistan for training special-purpose detachments, or more accurately, mercenaries and saboteurs, which will be sent into Afghanistan, India and other nations in the area, is being created there under Chinese supervision. Strategic roads are being built to the borders of India from the new base, where an additional 250 Chinese military instructors recently arrived. Observers believe that all of this indicates that the creation of this center is the first step on the path to making the area around Poonch a staging area for an attack upon the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. This conclusion is confirmed by acts of provocation which have become frequent along the border there.

Indian Prime Minister I. Gandhi recently stated, not without foundation, that "danger is approaching India's borders," a danger resulting from the

arming of Pakistan "to the teeth" by the United States, China and Saudi Arabia. In an Austrian radio interview I. Gandhi, once more expressing serious concern about the rearmament of Pakistan, which claims a part of India's territory, noted that Pakistan, the American military bases and China constitute a threat to India. India is also concerned about the growing American-Chinese rapprochement, especially in light of a statement made by U.S. Defense Secretary H. Brown following his visit to Beijing, to the effect that the Americans and Chinese have common interests in South Asia. It is perfectly obvious that India is far from unconcerned as what sort of "common interests" in that area is providing the basis for the rapprochement between Washington and Beijing and about the fact that this "commonness of interests" includes far-reaching strategic goals, primarily the desire by the United States and China to use Pakistan for their aggressive actions against neighboring states. Washington would like to involve China, which still holds 36,000 square kilometers of Indian territory occupied in 1962, as actively as possible in these actions. The Karakorum Highway built by it is designed to provide access to India's flank and to give China a strategic outlet to the Indian Ocean, which has recently seen an unprecedented buildup of the U.S. military presence.

These are clear attempts by Washington and Beijing, with Pakistan's assistance, to "encircle" India, apply pressure and force it to abandon its independent foreign policy course. There is also an undisguised gamble on the extremely large-scale armament of Pakistan and China and on the exacerbation of tensions in Southwest Asia. According to the Indian weekly *LINK*, it is planned to turn Pakistan into a sort of Israel in this area. The agenda essentially involves the creation of a sort of "alliance" of the United States, China, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and certain other nations, to replace the disintegrated CENTO bloc. This was obviously what was meant when questions of creating a so-called "security structure in the area" were discussed during Brezhnev's visit to Islamabad.

"The most important thing," L. I. Brezhnev said in his speech at a meeting with the electors of Baumanskiy Rayon in the city of Moscow, "is that the United States has demonstrated the intention of creating a network of American military bases in the Indian Ocean, in the nations of the Middle and Near East, and in the African nations. The United States would like to place these nations under its hegemony, to fleece them of their natural resources, at the same time using their territory for its strategic designs against the world of socialism and the national liberation forces. This is the essence of the matter."

One asks the legitimate question as to whether Islamabad is aware of the dangerous path onto which Pakistan is being dragged by Washington and Beijing and what confrontation and hostility with neighboring states and its participation in the aggressive plans of imperialism and hegemonism may entail for Pakistan. "The only way to insure Pakistan's security is not through armament but through the pursuit of a policy of good-neighbornliness," a group of the nation's prominent public figures wrote in an open letter to

President Zia-ul-Haq. "The uproar which has been raised is only a smoke-screen, under the cover of which the United States is attempting to establish its supremacy in the Middle East, using Pakistan for this purpose."

The true interests of the Pakistani, who are aware of the danger posed by the course being pursued by the military administration, consists primarily in strengthening their independence, avoiding the escalation of tensions, relieving the situation in the area and maintaining friendly relations with all neighboring nations. "Let Pakistan and its leaders," said USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs A. A. Gromyko during a recent visit to India, "weigh the pros and cons of which policy is best for them—a path of peace and good-neighborliness or a path of tensions and hostility with neighboring states. I want to express my hope that in matters of international policy Pakistan will take a position of peace and friendship with other states, first and foremost, with its neighbors."

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11499

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POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF AFGHAN CRISIS IS FEASIBLE

Moscow NOVOSTI DAILY REVIEW in English 11 Jul 80 pp 1-3

[Article by Igor Sinitzin, APN political observer]

[Text] The attitude to a so-called crisis around Afghanistan has been clearly changing in the world in the past few weeks. Most diverse public circles in the West and developing countries begin to realise the need for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. It becomes increasingly obvious that the United States and China, which are inflating a crisis in South West Asia to their own advantage, are pursuing hegemonic aims in that region.

The governments of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the leaders of other socialist countries and many leaders in non-aligned, including Islamic, countries not only call for a political settlement but make specific moves in its direction. Thus, back on May 14, Babrak Karmal's government submitted official proposals the adoption of which would ease tension around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The Afghan proposals were supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. After consultations with Kabul and taking into consideration that life was gradually coming to normal in that country and that the largest of the counter-revolutionary gangs that had been infiltrated into Afghan territory were routed, the USSR withdrew some of its troops from Afghanistan. This step illustrates Moscow's and Kabul's sincere striving for a genuine political settlement.

What does Kabul propose specifically? It has set forth a package of measures which can be started by the holding of bilateral negotiations between Afghanistan and Iran and Afghanistan and Pakistan to draft corresponding agreements on the normalization of relations on the principles of good-neighbourliness, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and mutually advantageous cooperation. In Kabul's

opinion, these agreements must record the sides' commitment to prevent armed and any other hostile activities from their territories against each other and facilitate a free return of Afghan refugees who have fled to neighbouring countries for one or another reason. Guided by humane principles, the DRA government guarantees all repatriates complete freedom, inviolability and a free choice of a type of occupation and place of residence.

Along with a number of bilateral agreements with Iran and Pakistan, the provision of corresponding guarantees by certain states - which would be equally acceptable to the DRA and the other parties in the agreements - should be a component of a political settlement. In the opinion of the Afghan government, the United States and the Soviet Union should be among the guarantors. What is more, the United States must state its commitment to avoid any subversive activities against Afghanistan, including those conducted from the territory of third countries.

It is stressed in Kabul's proposals that the question on the complete withdrawal of a limited Soviet troop contingent which is staying in Afghanistan can be solved after all forms of outside interference in Afghan affairs are stopped and their non-resumption is guaranteed.

An essential component of these proposals is the desire that in the process of political arrangements the situation obtaining in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean area as a whole and the military-political activities of states which do not belong to this region should be taken into consideration. This is both of regional and global importance. Afghanistan wholly supports the idea of turning this region into a zone of peace and taking measures to reduce tension and strengthen the security of peoples in the Indian Ocean basin.

The comprehensive proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which are open to all, have encountered a positive response in many countries: they are being studied in detail now. Kabul's initiative creates a good foundation for negotiations and a pre-requisite for overcoming an international crisis by political means.

Various viewpoints are expressed in the West regarding the core of the matter. There is obvious sentiment in favour of negotiations, though it is accompanied by all sorts of preliminary conditions. It is only natural to ask in this connection: What is to be understood as a political settlement? Why do President Carter's idea of an "interim settlement" and the idea of "neutralizing" Afghanistan which was advanced by the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, virtually lead to a warlike blind alley?

It goes without saying that the termination of armed intervention and the interference of outside reactionary forces, led by the United States and China with the participation of Pakistani, Egyptian and Saudi Arabian authorities, into the internal affairs of sovereign Afghanistan is the

pivot of a true political settlement. It is necessary to put an end to the armed incursions of the mercenaries of imperialist and reactionary forces made from the territory of neighbouring states, and guarantee non-resumption of subversive activities against Afghanistan. The discontinuation of arms and other material deliveries to counter-revolutionaries and the closure of the camps where bandits are being trained - in other words, the termination of the armed struggle against the Afghan people and their April revolution both in the form of war-like operations and subversive activities, is a major element of the specific measures which would preclude the infiltration of armed gangs of counter-revolutionary rebels and terrorists into Afghanistan from neighbouring countries.

Not a single of the problems concerning Afghanistan can be resolved without the participation of its legitimate spokesmen. The Afghan government, the political forces which accomplished the Afghan revolution in 1978 must take part in negotiations and the drafting of a political settlement. It is crystal clear that the eventual aim of the US President's and British Foreign Secretary's plans is the overthrow of the legitimate Afghan government and export of counter-revolution in that country. These plans are doomed to failure. As to the attempts to provide the leaders of counter-revolutionary gangs with an official status, they are of a clearly provocative character. These people who have fled the DRA have no right to represent anyone. They are the cat's-paws of American, Chinese and Egyptian secret services.

So, a political settlement of the crisis around Afghanistan is feasible. The constructive programme advanced by the DRA government on May 14 and the pullout of some Soviet troop units from Afghanistan are specific moves in this direction. It is now for the other side, above all, the United States and Pakistan, to make the next move.

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INTERNATIONAL

IMPORTANCE OF SOVIET SUMMITS WITH PRG, VIETNAM DISCUSSED

LD151229 Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 29, 1980 signed to press 10 Jul 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Historical Optimism"]

[Text] However complex the international situation, historical optimism has always and invariably remained characteristic of the Soviet Union's foreign policy course. It stems from a profound class analysis of events occurring in the world, from a comprehensive scientific assessment of the correlation of forces in the international arena.

This spirit of historical optimism also permeates the CPSU Central Committee June plenum resolution "On the International Situation and the Soviet Union's Foreign Policy." Adopted at a time when imperialism has clearly set itself the goal of testing the peoples' will for peace, it exudes confidence that there exist objective possibilities and sociopolitical forces capable of preventing a slide toward a new cold war, ensuring normal, peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems and averting the threat of world thermonuclear conflict.

Important Initiatives

The CPSU Central Committee June plenum resolution also indicates the way to resolve this historic task. This is the way of talks. It is profoundly significant that, while U.S. imperialist circles are doing everything to hinder East-West international cooperation and are even blocking cultural and scientific contacts with the Soviet Union, it is Moscow that has issued this appeal for a dialogue. The Soviet-West German summit talks, held soon after the CPSU Central Committee plenum, convincingly showed that this dialogue opens up real possibilities to surmount the many difficulties that have recently been piled up by opponents of detente.

Assessing the results of the talks between the Soviet and PRG leaders, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers emphasized that these results make a real contribution to strengthening peace and security and improving the international climate as a whole. They have also had a favorable effect on the further development of bilateral relations of cooperation between the USSR and the

FRG. "Special significance," the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers document states, "attaches to the fact that, despite the growing complexity of the international situation and the existence of substantial disagreements on a number of issues, both sides declared very definitely as a result of the talks that they consider the relaxation of tension necessary, possible and useful and expressed their will to help it in every possible way to become the leading trend in international relations."

This weighty result took much hard work. During the talks L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, put forward a number of new ideas and specific proposals aimed at reaching accords on questions of strengthening peace and international security, curbing the arms race, and disarmament. Confirming the stand which it had put forward earlier regarding the most correct ways to resolve the question of medium-range weapons in Europe, the Soviet side, guided by the broad interests of peace and security, proposed embarking on a discussion of the question of medium-range nuclear missile weapons simultaneously and in organic association with the question of forward-based American nuclear weapons. It is envisaged here that possible accords on these questions can be realized in practice only after the Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT 2) comes into force.

These goodwill gestures by the Soviet Union were evaluated highly by the international public. The Soviet Union expects the governments of Western states also to display a sense of responsibility and to respond positively to the new Soviet initiatives. For they accord with the vital interests of the peoples of Europe and the whole world!

The Soviet delegation's activity at the talks with the FRG leaders is an expressive example of Leninist principledness, tenacity and firmness. The Soviet Union is interested in averting a major world tragedy. But equally definite and firm in its determination to prevent a violation of the existing strategic equilibrium between the Warsaw Pact and NATO forces.

The Soviet Union does not close its eyes to the complexity of the present international situation. The United States and the NATO bloc are continuing their attempts to undermine detente and are continuing to whip up the arms race. They are fanning hotbeds of tension in the Near East, the Persian Gulf zone, Southeast Asia and other parts of the globe and openly claim to dictate their will to the peoples. The scale of imperialism's aggression against Afghanistan is not decreasing.

But the Soviet Union will allow no one to talk to it from a position of strength. And it will not abandon its friends in need. It was explained to the FRG leaders during the Soviet-West German talks, in particular, that a political settlement in connection with Afghanistan is conditional on the total cessation of aggression and other forms of external interference in that country's internal affairs under corresponding guarantees that such interference will not be resumed in the future.

The Soviet-West German talks make it possible to elucidate the two countries' positions on a number of very important international issues and to outline the prospects for a continued dialogue between them. But those same talks revealed spheres in which the viewpoints of the USSR and the FRG diverge.

[LD151231] In particular, the notorious principle of "Atlantic solidarity" exerts an appreciable influence on the FRG leadership's assessment of the causes of international tension. Precisely this prompts the FRG leadership to shield Washington's adventurist actions and its attempts to achieve military superiority over the USSR at any cost. Emulation of the transatlantic ally is also noticeable in the FRG's approach to events concerning Afghanistan.

In this situation only time will show to what extent the FRG leaders' assurances of their readiness to serve the interests of peace and detente will take the form of specific steps.

Cooperation and Fraternity

While devoting tremendous attention to the struggle for detente and for international security on the European continent, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are no less concerned to maintain and strengthen peace in other parts of the globe, particularly in Southeast Asia, where China and the United States are trying to fan one more hotbed of tension.

The facts eloquently attest to a compact between the United States and the PRC in their subversive actions against the peoples of Indochina. It is no coincidence that simultaneously with Beijing's military demonstrations on Vietnam's northern borders Thailand has organized an armed provocation on Kampuchea's border and the United States has hastened to start an urgent transfer of arms to Thailand. Beijing and Washington supply weapons to gangs of Pol Pot's cutthroats being infiltrated onto Kampuchean territory.

Analyzing the reasons why Southeast Asia has become a troubled region of the world, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out: "...pressure and subversive activities by external forces are continuing there. China and the United States indulge each other in practically everything when it is a question of violence upon the will of the peoples of Indochina."

The Soviet and Vietnamese leaders held a meeting in Moscow. Its results showed that the unbreakable friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam serve as a powerful factor maintaining peace in Southeast Asia. The USSR consistently supports the peace-loving initiatives of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.

The Soviet-Vietnamese summit talks inscribed a bright new page in the history of friendship and fraternity between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasised, "Soviet-Vietnamese

friendship is strongly built and becomes increasingly rich and bright with every passing year."

Our two countries' fraternal friendship is strong and unbreakable. It is a reliable guarantee that no one will ever succeed in extinguishing the dawn of freedom that has broken over Indochina.

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INTERNATIONAL

U. S. PREVENTS SOLUTION OF PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

Moscow NOVOSTI DAILY REVIEW in English 23 Jul 80 pp 1-2

[Article by G. Savin, APN Commentator]

[Text] The UN General Assembly's special session on Palestine has opened at the UN headquarters in New York. Such sessions, according to the UN Charter, are convened when the problem which is put to discussion poses a threat to international peace and security and the UN Security Council, because of the differences among its Permanent Members, fails to make a decision on this issue.

In this case the taking of a concrete decision on the Palestinian problem which would not only recognize the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, but would also oblige all countries, Israel above all, to guarantee its implementation was barred by the obstructionist policy of the United States in the UN Security Council. For many years Washington has been using its status of a Permanent Member of the UN Security Council to prevent this body from denouncing Israel's policy of genocide vis-a-vis the Palestinian people and from taking against Israel measures in accordance with the UN Charter which would compel Israel to abide by the well-known resolutions of the UN General Assembly on settling the Middle East conflict.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian problem is exacerbating with every passing year. After the armed seizure of Arab Palestinian lands Israel started their systematic colonization. The Camp David agreements reached in the result of the collusion between the United States, Israel and Egypt, have encouraged Israel's Zionist authorities to rigidify reprisals against the Arab population on Israeli-occupied territories in order to impose on it the notorious "administrative self-rule", to intensify aggressive actions against the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese national patriotic forces and the progressive regime of Damascus consistently coming out against the encroachments of imperialism and Zionism in the region. At present even Western Europe recognizes that

the separate peace treaty will not bring peace to the Middle East and that without a just and comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian problem this vast region will remain a hotbed of dangerous tensions and a threat to peace and security of all nations.

"The working document" submitted to discussion at the special session of the UN General Assembly not only recognizes the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians and call on Israel to fully withdraw from Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, but also sets a deadline for such a pullout and entrusts UN Secretary-General with powers to take concrete measures in keeping with the UN Charter for ensuring Israel's withdrawal from occupied Arab lands. The proposals of the countries which are initiators of the 7th extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly also envisage an appeal to all UN member countries to abstain from rendering any military or economic aid to Israel so far as it continues to occupy Arab and Palestinian territories and deprive the Palestinian people of their inalienable national rights.

This shows that profound and serious work has been carried out to prepare this session. Reports coming from New York show that both Israel and the United States, together with some of their NATO allies, are seriously concerned over the very fact of holding such a session. They have failed to thwart the efforts by a number of countries aimed at convening the session and now they are feverishly carrying out subversive activity trying to curtail the discussion of the problem. They intimidate certain delegations with the "aggravation of relations between Israel and the Arabs" and a "new war," if the session accepts even the main provisions of the "working document." This tactic is not new, if one recalls that the Camp David accords were imposed under the same pretext, but it is precisely these agreements which have exacerbated the situation in the region.

The Soviet Union is firmly convinced that the Palestinian problem is the pivotal one in attaining a fair and durable peace in the Middle East. Its solution is also demanded by the UN Charter which rejects genocide and proclaims equal rights of all peoples to national independence, sovereignty and security. The Soviet Union will uphold this principled stand in its approach to the solution of the Palestinian problem and to a Middle East settlement at the forthcoming special session of the UN General Assembly. The USSR is convinced that this solution alone can ensure peace and security in the Middle East.

CSO: 1812

NATIONAL

ALIYEV ADDRESSES MOSCOW MEETING OF USSR WRITERS UNION

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 29 Jun 80 p 1

[Article from Special Correspondent of Azerinform, Moscow: "The Duty and Mission of Men of Letters - a Meeting of the USSR Writers Union"]

[Text] The All-Union Creative Writers Conference will be held in Baku in November of this year. This important event was the main topic at a meeting of the leadership of the USSR Writers Union, which was attended by Candidate to the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party G. A. Aliyev.

The meeting was opened by the first secretary of the governing board of the USSR Writers Union, Hero of Socialist Labor and winner of the Lenin and state prizes, G. M. Markov. He recalled that five years ago, on the eve of the Days of Soviet Literature in Azerbaijan, an analogous meeting of the USSR Writers Union took place. A speech by Comrade G. A. Aliyev gave the writers a vivid and comprehensive description of life in Soviet Azerbaijan, the achievements of its workers, and the types of work being done by the republic's party organization. This helped to finalize the program of the forthcoming festival of literature and friendship and to stage it on a high ideological and artistic level. The Days of Soviet Literature in Azerbaijan were very successful and graphically demonstrated the indestructible friendship of the peoples of our multinational country.

And here we are, meeting again, the speaker continued, to discuss the preparation for still another important event: the All-Union Creative Writers Conference in Azerbaijan. It will take place in November, at the height of the preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress. Soviet literary figures and our entire nation as well are assuming great responsibility in preparing both for the party forum and for the Seventh All-Union Writers Congress, which is scheduled for June 1981. The All-Union Conference in Baku will be one of the phases of this work. We rejoice at the forthcoming meeting with hospitable Azerbaijan and its heroic workers, whose successes are the pride of our entire nation, and we have no doubt that we will carry away from that republic many impressions that will be important for our future creative work.

Comrade G. A. Aliyev said in his speech that for him a party employee, meetings with representatives of the intelligentsia of the world of art, with men of literature and the arts, were always very important and valuable. Today's meeting is especially significant: it is taking place just after the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which adopted the decree to convene the 26th CPSU Congress. This plenum is very significant for our party and for the life of the entire Soviet nation. We were all greatly impressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech, in which he thoroughly, profoundly and comprehensively defined the basic directions for the activities of party organizations and the task of all workers to guarantee a worthy reception for the congress, and dealt with important aspects of the present-day international position and foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Our republic is going to take appropriate measures and examine questions connected with preparing for the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party. We will develop and carry out a program of measures dealing with the economy, party and ideological work, and culture which are aimed at raising the efficiency of all aspects of our activities. The All-Union Writers Conference which will take place in Baku will also contribute in an important way to carrying out the resolutions of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and preparing for the 26th party congress.

Very interesting and important topics have been chosen for discussion at the conference: the reflection in Soviet literature of the problems of internationalism and the friendship of nations, or the image of modern man, the role of scientific and technical progress in the life of modern society and the interrelationships between city and village. This entire sphere of questions now occupies the center of attention of our party organizations and ideological and cultural institutions. It is vitally necessary to constructively discuss the questions on the agenda of the conference, analyze the present-day literary process and have a deep understanding of the path followed by our literature during the period between the congresses. We are sure that the forthcoming writers forum will attract the attention of the entire country and will play a large role in the development of a multinational Soviet literature. Comrade Aliyev said that on behalf of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and all the workers of the republic, he wanted to assure the men of letters that they would do everything in their power to place the course of the conference in Baku on a high political and ideological plane and to see that the participants in it be provided with all the conditions necessary for carrying out fruitful work.

Present-day Soviet Azerbaijan, which as a member of the fraternal family of nations of the USSR moved from backwardness and oppression to the heights of social, economic and cultural progress, and the creative activity of our writers organization, which possesses more than a little experience, hopefully provide a good base for studying the problems of the interrelationships between life and literature and the role of the creative intelligentsia in the nationwide struggle for communism.

Our present-day life and the heroic achievements of the Soviet people are the focus of attention of all men active in the cultural world and of loyal party helpers. However, in my opinion these questions must be more intensely reflected in the works of literature and art. What could be a more crucial and noble goal than to engrave in all its profundity and historical accuracy the image of the Soviet man, who daily performs all kinds of feats, makes mankind's century-old dream of communism a reality, and through his selfless labor for the glory of the motherland and utter devotion to Lenin's party refutes the malicious fabrications of bourgeois propaganda!

In addition, Comrade G. A. Aliyev gave the audience a detailed description of the achievements of the Azerbaijan workers in fulfilling the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress and in completing the tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan. A new wave of worker enthusiasm and a tremendous political upsurge were evoked in the workers of the republic by the fact that Azerbaijan was awarded the Order of Lenin. This high award of the motherland crowned the great successes achieved by the workers of the Azerbaijan SSR in carrying out the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress for the development of the national economy and in fulfilling ahead of schedule the goals of the Fifth Five-Year Plan for industrial and agricultural production. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's warm greeting provided the workers of the republic with a powerful stimulus for the future improvement of work in all sectors of communist development.

Comrade G. A. Aliyev noted further that during the period following the 25th CPSU Congress, the republic's party organization devoted special attention to the problems of ideological work and in particular to the development of literature and art. Regular meetings of the creative intelligentsia with the party aktiv and joint discussions of the most urgent problems of the day and ways to further strengthen the ties between the artists and life of the people have become a tradition in the republic. The Azerbaijan Writers Union is constantly organizing trips for literary figures and party employees to industrial enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Composers and masters of fine arts, following the writers' example, have also begun to take part in such trips. This has enriched the creativity of our intelligentsia of the world of art and has given an impetus to the cultural life of the republic as a whole. A number of significant works of literature and art reflecting the life of the people in a true-to-life manner, from the party point of view, have been produced recently in Azerbaijan. It should be especially emphasized that a large contingent of young writers has turned to literature. The experience with young people amassed by the various unions of the arts in Azerbaijan is worthy of high esteem and approval.

Comrade Aliyev noted that a generous exchange of spiritual values and the cross-fertilization of national cultures is the principle behind the development of a multinational Soviet culture. We are particularly proud of the fact that the classics of Azerbaijan literature have become widely known both at home and abroad. For example, the works of Nizami, produced

800 years ago during the gloomy Middle Ages, have now become the property of all Soviet peoples and of all mankind. But if it were not for the Soviet regime, these works would still be the property of an isolated few. The Azerbaijan people have virtually raised their cultural heritage from the oblivion of the grave, and this has happened thanks primarily to the great Russian language, the important vehicle for international intercourse, and to the great Russian literature.

While touching upon the great amount of work that the Azerbaijan party organization has done to improve the moral climate of the republic and upon the struggle against such negative phenomena as petty-bourgeois attitudes, tendencies toward private ownership, hoarding and other anti-social manifestations, Comrade G. A. Aliyev emphasized the important role that belongs to literature in this work. Its educative significance and influence on the moral formation of man is difficult to overestimate. It is gratifying that a significant number of works have now appeared that profoundly, artistically and authentically reflect the struggle against the influence of bourgeois morality and point out the triumph of the high ideals of our society. This topic is just as acutely vital today and requires an increasingly deeper and more comprehensive treatment. It is thought that it will rightly become one of the central topics at the forthcoming literature conference.

Comrade G. A. Aliyev emphasized that the fact that the conference will be held in Baku places many obligations on the Azerbaijan writers organization. Party employees will also be active participants at the conference. We are sure that the All-Union Writers Conference will enrich our culture and the entire intellectual life of the country and will give a new impulse to the development of Soviet literature on the eve of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The first secretary of the governing board of the Azerbaijan Writers Union and a national writer of the republic, I. A. Kasumov, emphasized in his speech that the forthcoming conference will serve to further strengthen the friendship among the representatives from the brother literatures of our multinational country. He said that Soviet writers are the singers of the new society, and therefore our prime and main task is to exalt and glorify the socialist way of life. We will be happy to tell our friends from socialist countries who take part in the conference about our achievements and discuss with them plans for the future.

The secretaries of the governing board of the USSR Writers Union B. N. Polevoy, Yu. N. Verchenko, A. P. Keshokov and others thanked Comrade G. A. Aliyev on behalf of the writers for his interesting, profound words about the life of the republic and for his valuable advice concerning the forthcoming conference.

The meeting was attended by the chief and deputy chief of the Culture Section of the CPSU Central Committee, V. F. Shauro and A. A. Belyayev, respectively.

9637

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REGIONAL

VOSKANYAN REPORT TO ARMENIAN PLENUM ON REPLENISHING PARTY RANKS

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 10 Jun 80 p 2

[*"Abridgement" of report by M. Voskanyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, to the Central Committee Plenum: "On Replenishing the Party's Ranks and Training Young Communists"*]

[Text] Comrades!

In introducing the matter at hand for our plenum's consideration, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has proceeded from the fact that the work of party organization in accepting new party replenishment is a continuous process which is of major importance in reinforcing the party's ranks and enhancing its leading role in society.

The CPSU and its Central Committee always have stressed that an increase in the party's role is not achieved automatically, not spontaneously, but by purposeful, scientifically sound activity by all party organizations and every communist and depends on the internal condition and development of the party itself.

The present stage in the development of Soviet society places especially high demands on the staff of the party, on its organizations, and on each communist. Now, at a time when the scope of communist construction has increased considerably and its goals have become more complex, when profound economic and social transformations are taking place in the country, when the scientific and technical revolution is being developed at a rapid pace, and when the consciousness and activity of Soviet people has increased a great deal--under these conditions, only the leading, most conscious and active representatives of the people can be in the vanguard of the struggle for communism. For this reason, taking into account the favorable socio-economic and class prerequisites for the growth of its ranks, the party is undertaking a number of measures at the same time to increase the demands on each member and candidate of the party and on each one entering its ranks.

The basic documents in this matter are the decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th party congresses, the works of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, and the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Work of Party Organizations in Kirgiz SSR on Admitting Into the Party and Training Candidate Members of the CPSU."

In conformity with the directions of the party congresses and the CPSU Central Committee decree on Kirgiz SSR, these matters have continually been in the center of attention of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. Following the appearance of the CPSU Central Committee decree on Kirgiz SSR, at its 27 April 1977 plenum, the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party considered the question "On the Work of the Republic's Party Organizations on Admitting Into the Party and Training Candidate Members of the CPSU in Light of the Requirements of the 25th CPSU Congress."

The plenum summed up the work of the republic party organization on training young communists and selecting them for admission to party ranks. The plenum noted that the party organizations of Armenia had carried out specific work to replenish and improve the high-performance personnel in its ranks, to train high-principled, active fighters of the party, and to develop communists' creative initiative in building communism. The Central Committee plenum, at the same time, also revealed a number of shortcomings in this work, focusing the attention of city and rayon committees on the removal of existing shortcomings and omissions. The plenum, as is well known, obliged all party organizations to take effective measures to improve selection into the party in accordance with the increased requirements.

The questions of increasing high-performance personnel in party ranks was discussed at party gorkom and raykom plenums and at meetings of all party organizations. And at the subsequent Central Committee plenum of the Armenian Communist Party the party gorkoms and raykoms devoted steady attention to these questions.

Today it may be stated with good reason that the work performed has yielded positive results. Party organizations of the republic as a whole are ensuring further improvement in the party's high-performance personnel on the basis of Leninist norms and principles, in strict conformity with the directions of the party congresses and the directives of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev on party building. The Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, party gorkoms and raykoms, and primary party organizations are striving to ensure that the new replenishment of the party responds as well as possible to the goals of reinforcing its ideological and political influence among the masses and improving the effectiveness of party influence on all aspects of the life of society.

The republic's party organizations, in regulating the growth of its ranks, is consistently adhering to the line of reinforcing them first

of all with the best representatives of the working class. At the same time, there is important unfinished work in the practice of admitting workers to the party and placing them. Cases of underestimation still are being encountered in the primary selection of leading workers for admission to party ranks. Here and there they are carried away by admitting as candidates persons who recently joined the ranks of the collectives of enterprises and construction projects and who have not received solid work tempering.

Together with the admission of new members from among the workers, party organizations are continuing to be replenished with leading kolkhoz farmers. This responds to the interests of reinforcing the union of the working class and the collective farm peasantry and implementation of the party's agrarian policy. Particularly important work on strengthening rural party organizations was carried out after the March (1965) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. At the same time, it cannot be considered normal that the number of communists working in an important agricultural sector such as livestock-raising has decreased over the past 4 years.

In implementing the directives of the CPSU Central Committee, the republic's party organizations are carrying out important work in admitting the best representatives of the intelligentsia into the party. In organizing this work, party organizations are taking into consideration that the further development of Soviet society, improvement in the people's level of culture, and the ever-increasing importance of science and technology in communist construction are leading to an increase in the size of the intelligentsia and reinforcement of its role in the life of the country. This also significantly influences the growth of the party and its social composition. This is natural, too. The vast scale of physical production, the technical progress in all sectors of the national economy, and the formation of the scientific and cultural foundations of communism cause an increase in the number and proportion in the employed population of primarily engineering and technical intelligentsia, agricultural specialists, and scientific and cultural employees. At present, 16 percent of the entire composition of the republic's party organization are representatives of the technical intelligentsia; about 60 percent of the candidates of sciences are members of the CPSU, as well as 80 percent of the doctors of science, 60 percent of the instructors of higher education establishments, every fourth secondary school teacher, every fifth physician, every second author, and so forth. In 4 years the number of representatives of the intelligentsia in the republic party organization has increased by nearly 6,000.

The influx of youth into the party ranks has increased significantly, and the role of the Komsomol as the party's direct resource has been enhanced. Party ranks are being actively replenished with working women. The proportion of women among those entering the party is increasing from year to year, consisting of 35.7 percent in 1979.

Under the conditions of a developed socialist society, to the extent of our country's advance along the path to communism, further expansion and extension of the trend toward many nationalities in the composition of party organizations are taking place. The changes taking place in the composition of the party, including in our republic party organization, more and more reflect the policy it has followed of social internationalism, friendship and the brotherhood of peoples. Party organizations are seeing to it that persons of other nationalities are appropriately represented among communists. At present, the republic party organization unites the representatives of 43 nationalities.

The bulk of those entering the party is quickly included in the work of party organizations and becomes their active strength. Party rayon and city committees and primary party organizations are performing a great service in this. In implementing the directions of the 25th Congress and the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Work of Party Organizations in Kirgiz SSR on Admitting Into the Party and Training Candidate Members of the CPSU," they are devoting special attention to reinforcing communists' vanguard role in production and to development of their initiative in social work and ideological tempering.

Dwelling on the shortcomings in the work of party organizations in selecting and admitting persons into the ranks of the CPSU, Comrade G. M. Voskanyan noted that an oversimplified approach is being displayed in a number of organizations toward the matter of party admission, and that the practical, political and moral qualities of those entering the ranks of the CPSU are being inadequately studied. As a result, persons are being accepted in the party who do not have the necessary political and businesslike qualities. Such cases have existed in the party organizations of the Kalininskiy, imeni Kamo, Sevanskiy, Shamshadinskiy, Aparanskiy and other rayons.

Correct organization of training work with candidate members of the CPSU is very important. Some experience in this direction has been accumulated in the republic. However, due attention is not being devoted to work with party candidates in some party organizations; as a result, certain ones do not pass the examinations and leave the party.

Party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations have been obliged to raise the standard of work with candidate members of the CPSU. It is necessary to take steps to ensure that they consciously familiarize themselves with the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, and so that their moral substance is reflected in practical participation in the public business of communist construction. Party candidates should go through a real school of party tempering.

In recent years, the republic's party organizations have done a great deal of work to improve the arrangement of forces of communists in key sectors of the national economy and to reinforce party influence in its different components.

In speaking about this, Comrade G.M. Voskanyan noted that, despite this, individual party raykoms and primary party organizations are not attaching proper significance to this matter, are not profoundly analyzing the changes taking place in the composition of party organizations, and are not taking into consideration the necessity for reinforcing party influence in one sector or another as a means of distributing communists correctly and enhancing their vanguard role, as well as a means of replenishing party ranks with active, leading workers.

The reinforcement and purity of party ranks depend not only on new replenishment, but also on how expeditiously the party rids itself of those who do not warrant the lofty title of communist. Our party is considering work to purify its ranks of those persons who violate the requirements of the Program and Rules of the CPSU, as the most important means of its organizational reinforcement and of improving its fighting efficiency.

After the January (1975) Plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party many party organizations and party gorkoms and raykoms intensified the struggle against violations of party and state discipline and misuse of an official position, and against misappropriations of socialist property and other negative manifestations, holding the guilty persons strictly accountable and giving their misdeeds an evaluation based on principle.

Unfortunately, in individual cases violations of party and state discipline and the norms of morality are tolerated by supervisory workers, but their conduct does not receive the necessary evaluation by the appropriate party committees.

Recently the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party expelled S. Antoneyan, chairman of the Noyemberyanskiy Rayon soviet executive committee, from the party and relieved him of his duties for misusing his position for mercenary motives. For lack of proper exactingness and control over the activity of supervisory workers in the rayon, the Bureau of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee made Comrade G. Nakhshkaryan, first secretary of the party raykom, strictly accountable to the party, and pointed out to the raykom bureau the manifestation of unscrupulousness and liberalism in evaluating the activity of supervisory personnel.

Primary party organizations and party gorkoms and raykoms must carry out the strictest supervision over observance of the Program and Rules of the CPSU and the norms of party ethics, bearing in mind that true communists are trained and tempered under conditions of exacting organization, order and discipline.

In conclusion, Comrade G.M. Voskanyan expressed confidence that discussion of this matter at the Central Committee Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party will help to correct existing shortcomings and omissions, and will contribute to ideological-political and organizational reinforcement of primary party organizations and still greater improvement in their fighting spirit and authority, and to their enhanced role in implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and in rallying communists and the working masses to successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

REGIONAL

ORENBURG MENNONITES' LIFE, RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 6, 1980 pp 24-26

[Article by V. Shevelev: "A Few Hours Drive from Orenburg..."]

[Excerpts] The villages through which I travelled contain wide streets planted with birches and acacias, sturdily built and spacious houses designed for large families with many children, grandfathers and grandmothers. The villages portray an image of firmness, durability and stability. Here live the descendants of the Mennonites who emigrated to Russia almost two hundred years ago.

"I Believe in Science, Not in Prayers"

I am walking along the village street past a club, bookstore and kindergarten and examining the photographs of the outstanding workers on the Honor Board next to the kolkhoz manager's office. It is difficult at first glance to discern the traces of those distant times when the first settlers began to build houses and cultivate the fields here. It is the Soviet way of life that determines the nature of personal and economic relations, the everyday life and psychology of people who live on this land. But, nonetheless, some traces have remained...

At the Podol'skoye high school of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon I was allowed to read the answers of upperclassmen to a questionnaire on their world outlook. To the question "What do you think of belief in God? Do you believe in miracles and the effectiveness of prayers?" the following answers were given:

"Judging by the stories of believers, God is a person like all mortals, only without sins. Consequently it follows that He was created by people"; "I believe in science, not in prayers. If people did nothing but pray, there would be no houses or bread or machines"; "Religion forbids drinking and smoking. But whoever does not want to can refrain from drinking and smoking without religion. I know such people."

However, the questionnaire's results provided also completely different views: "The existence of God cannot be proven using ordinary scientific methods. To attempt to prove the existence of God through ordinary scientific methods is just as absurd as to assert that the telephone was developed in order to study radioactivity. God is eternal. If he had been created by a living being, he would not be God. When God descends to earth for his children, those who are not ready for His coming will remain on earth and go to Hell. And I would not like to go to Hell."

The school children's answers to the questionnaire once again confirmed that problems of atheist education occupy a prominent place in the life of the villagers in the surrounding area.

Life--Against Isolation

Economic and party leaders, teachers, cultural workers, rank-and-file kolkhoz workers speak about these problems willingly and with interest. The people with whom I spoke attempt to take into consideration the vitality of family and national traditions of the "Mennonite milieu" (this concept now needs to be placed in quotation marks, since no such milieu exists in its pure form).

I. N. Belyayev, party committee secretary of the Karl Marx Kolkhoz of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon.

"Of course, we should recall that before the revolution the Mennonites tried in every possible way to segregate themselves from the "sinful" world, from everything that lies "beyond" Mennonitism, to isolate themselves in a religious community. But now life itself contradicts this tendency towards segregation. First of all, the previous homogeneity which characterized Mennonite settlements is completely gone. The residents of one house are believers, while their neighbors around them are non-believers. Even in a single household the parents are believers, while the children are non-believers. The establishment of the kolkhozes has destroyed the wall which at one time segregated the Mennonites from the outside world. People of various nationalities work side by side in our kolkhoz--Germans, Russians, Bashkirs as well as people professing various religions, believers and non-believers."

N. P. Vibe, Chairman of the Progress Kolkhoz of the Aleksandrovkiy Rayon.

"We have a tradition--we reward good work with tourist passes. Our kolkhoz workers have travelled to Central Asia, the Baltic Republics and the Ukraine. Believer kolkhoz workers quite often receive these passes. They can see the world and examine how other people live; they have the opportunity to expand their horizons beyond their current notions."

The Podol'skoye village prayer house. A spacious, bright room. German-language posters on the wall: "We praise the crucified Christ," "God is love." In the corner are several guitars and mandolines.

The conversation turns to the television. A middle-aged man sitting across from me shakes his gray head:

"I do not watch it. I know how to spend my time. True, there are some programs which are not sinful to watch. But there is a temptation when a useful program has ended; a person lacks the firmness to turn off the television. Man is weak."

I relate this conversation to the Podol'skoye High School principal of the Krassnogvardeyskiy Rayon.

V. P. Yantsen.

"It is known that the Mennonites avoid watching television. They do not watch themselves and forbid their children to do so. But imagine such a situation: as a result of the kolkhoz competition an outstanding worker wins a television. What should he do with it? Give it to a neighbor? Sell it? It is awkward: a gift represents recognition for one's labors, a fact which the Mennonites regard highly... The television remains in the house. Time passes, and the owner begins to watch it--initially for a short time to see the program "The World of Animals" or "Travel Club." Then he forgets to turn it off and watches the next program... Gradually the television becomes a part of family life, helps its members to see and find out about things about which they did not know or did not wish to know. This, of course, contributes to the spiritual growth of people (both children and adults) who live in the house, raises their overall cultural level, and thus benefits their economic activities."

People Trust One Another

The dairy complex of the Karl Marx Kolkhoz is its pride and joy. A carefully selected and bred herd. A strictly scientific feed diet. Cleanliness, order, organization. Milk yield here is the highest in the rayon and one of the best in the oblast.

I. K. Martens, chief of the Dairy Complex.

"Our economic successes depend to a considerable extent on the moral climate in the work collective: whether people trust one another, work toward a common goal, whether there is room for creative initiative. Without this it would be very difficult, quite probably impossible, to establish the correct organization of the economic system."

I will cite several examples.

A group of milkmaids services a large number of cows. Wages are paid to the group, that is, people must trust one another completely. Furthermore, milkmaids engage only in milking. Cleaning, feeding and equipment repairs--all of this work is performed by others. Also needed here is confidence

that the others will not let you down: the milking machine will not malfunction and the cows will be given drink and feed. One more thing. We work in two shifts: from 5:00 AM to 1:00 PM and from 1:00 PM to 9:00 PM. We bus people in from distant villages and use bulldozers to clean the roads in the event of a snowstorm. Each worker knows full well that he will begin work precisely on time and that he will be relieved also on time.

It should be noted that the conditions for the correct economic organization of the dairy complex are the product of all its workers regardless of nationality and religious preference. The nature of the work itself binds believers and non-believers in trust, cooperation and mutual assistance.

The Natural Development of Things

N. F. Petrov, party committee secretary of the Progress Kolkhoz of the Aleksandrovkiy Rayon.

"The income of our kolkhoz workers is quite high. All have sturdy, comfortable houses. The kolkhoz members own 200 vehicles and 600 motorcycles. Everyone knows that good work will be rewarded by a good harvest, a home and prosperity. And your family and the kolkhoz will not abandon you in old age. Of course man does not live by bread alone. However, on the other hand, it is well known that the inability to satisfy one's needs sometimes compels a person to seek assistance from forces of the other world in his search to solve completely earthly problems. And, on the contrary, one's confidence in the natural development of things and the confidence that one's labor and knowledge yield well-being for all leave no room for spiritual timidity and mysticism... This has another side. A high material level to a considerable extent removes the need for female loneliness and family problems--all those things which can nurture increased religiosity, mystical exaltation, and so forth. Our kolkhoz does not have a problem of marriageable men. After graduating from high school and serving in the army, almost all young men return home. The same can be said about those who graduate from an institute. And this, among other things, means that there are eligible young men for the girls to marry. Even if our girls marry fellows from other kolkhozes, the young families prefer to live in ours."

"By the Sweat of One's Brow"

The Mennonite preachers interpret this biblical phrase in the following way: "A Mennonite can be only a peasant; no medals, no uniform, nor any kind of marks of distinction will he accept. Every trade is subordinated to this primary notion: the Mennonites are inseparably associated with agriculture as the main calling of the Mennonite."

It is for this reason, therefore, that sometimes the parents of believer families do not wish their children to graduate from high school and enroll in institutes and vocational schools. They believe that a high school

education or higher education holds a danger of separation from the family, separation from a peasant's labor--the only dignified endeavor of man.

The logic of life itself counters this view of things. A considerable contribution is made by the teachers of schools attended by Mennonite children. The former try not in words but in deeds to convince the parents that school helps their children become smarter and better. These teachers involve the parents in the school's activities and try to have them participate in all of the school's positive activities and patiently teach them respect for the school, knowledge and education. And the school's educational work along with the whole development of our life (maybe not right away) yield ever increasing results. About 10 years ago only about 30 percent of the first-graders graduated from the tenth grade in some of the schools I visited. Presently only a few do not receive diplomas--mostly for health reasons. The graduates of these schools enroll in the institutes and vocational schools of Orenburg and other cities, and among them there are a considerable number of boys and girls from believer families.

An increase in the number of education people in the village has of course a favorable influence on all aspects of rural life.

A young person who possesses knowledge and culture, having learned to view things correctly, will succeed in selecting a useful path in life and defend his selection and will be able to create a healthy spiritual and moral climate in his family.

Not By Prayer Alone

V. K. Dik, director of the Podol'skoye House of Culture of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon.

"Last year our House of Culture took first place at the rayon amateur talent show. Our club directors are quite good. We take special care in the selection of music teachers--for the choir, band and so forth. This is particularly important to us. If in those areas where the Mennonites live the school and club do a poor job of developing musical talents, this often results in complaints from believers. You see, they say, that the atheists are indifferent to the old and greatly loved tradition of our fathers and grandfathers. Only in our own community, only in the prayer house can you satisfy this important spiritual need. The same, by the way, is said about the study of German. It is given a lot of attention in our school, verses and songs in German sound from the club stage on amateur nights and in talent contests. It would be wrong to rebuke us for being indifferent to the language of our forefathers (such rebukes are sometimes heard by atheists). Our native language is heard not only at a prayer meeting and not only in the form of religious verses and songs."

Responsibility Toward All Living Things

Exhibits of a future folk museum are kept in one of the rooms of the Podol'skoye House of Culture: an ancient mollusk shell discovered in 1939 at the dairy processing plant, an old spinning-wheel and an old Singer sewing machine.

A. G. Chibilev, museum director.

"I worked as a livestock specialist before retiring. And when I suddenly had a lot of time on my hands, I began to think about what I would occupy it with. And I thought: what a shame that we do not know our grandmothers and great-grandmothers. How did they live, what gave them joy and sorrow? I had already had a hankering for collecting things as I have been a stamp and coin collector since childhood. So I began to collect everything that would tell us something about the history of our native area. Later my friends and neighbors got involved. As things progressed, the number of items identified increased: we now have about 1,500 exhibits with many valuable ones among them... But here is what is important--our interest in the past compelled us to give serious thought to the future."

On the walls of the club hang large sheets of white paper on which are pasted photographs, small stories and an issue of RODNAYA PRIRODA. It is published monthly with 10 issues which are then hung in the club, school, library, store. It has stories about beautification of the village and photographs by nature lovers. The words of Albert Schweizer appear as a epigraph to one of the issues: "Ethics is the immeasurably expanded responsibility toward all living things."

A. G. Chibilev continues:

"These reports are published by the Podol'skoye Section of the Geographic Society and the primary organization of the Society for Environmental Protection. The reports are not the only form that our work takes. We conduct contests for the best beautification of the kolkhoz members' personal plots and organize an annual exhibit 'Man and Nature'."

Aleksandr Grigor'yevich takes an award out of a bookcase and proudly shows it--the Podol'skoye primary organization of the Society for Environmental Protection took first place in Orenburg Oblast.

"I think that our activities are directly related to atheist education. It is clear to everyone that we think not only about our daily bread and not only about today."

The same bookcase contains another award which Aleksandr Grigor'yevich shows with some embarrassment. It states that A. G. Chibilev has been awarded the title of laureate of the rayon talent show for his performance of the romance "Misty Morning"--his many activities do not keep him from fervently loving music and giving it serious attention.

Necessary Condition

In travelling to various kolkhozes, I became convinced that the majority of leaders--economic and party--take into consideration the peculiarities of the psychology of believers, their watchfulness and their vulnerability. In my conversations with believers--and there were many of them--not only did I hear about instances of economic infringement of their rights. The photographs of outstanding workers--regardless of whether they were believers or non-believers--appear on the boards of outstanding workers and on the front pages of rayon newspapers. No distinction is made in bestowing awards and holiday gifts (as is also true for punishments). Generally, everything is done as is fair: if a worker deserves a commendation, he gets it; if he fails, he is liable. Need it be mentioned that this approach creates a normal moral climate, which furthers economic successes and the cause of communist (specifically, atheist) education.

But it would not be fair to say that all is well.

A display stand containing reproductions of pictures which reveal the role of religion and the church in the history of human society hung in the corridor of the Podol'skoye school. A display like any other. But it was entitled--"The History of Human Stupidity." Naturally, a believer viewed these words as ridicule, an affront and an insult.

(It should be noted) to the credit of the school principal, V. P. Yantsov, that he did not even try to defend this poor show but listened to my comments, thought a minute and agreed:

"We will redo the display."

An Improved Atmosphere

Several Mennonite communities in the Orenburgskaya Oblast which had until recently refused to register or had not been registered for one or another reason by the local groups fairly recently agreed to do so.

Registration of the communities had a positive effect on the most varied aspects of life. Almost all whom I met spoke of this with satisfaction.

S. I. Iskovskikh, first secretary of the Aleksandrovka Rayon Committee of the CPSU.

"An unregistered religious community in and of itself already represents a violation of our laws on religious cults. Furthermore, such a situation almost always results in various insults and complaints. Registration has placed the activities of the community on a legal basis, under the safeguard of Soviet laws on religious cults, observance of which by both Soviet organs and believers normalizes the satisfaction of believers' religious needs."

A. F. Kreker, chairman of the Karl Marx Kolkhoz of Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon.

"We ran into a very difficult situation during planting: we were running short of time and were also short-handed. The Lenin voluntary extra work day happened to occur at this time, and I decided to appeal to the presbyter of the registered community: saying, in effect, that I know that Mennonites do not work on Saturdays, but the situation is so bad that the kolkhoz could use the help. What do you think happened? Every single one of them participated in the planting! Should something like this have happened prior to registration, I think that they would not have helped but would have recalled their previous affronts..."

D. D. Lepp, chairman of the Zhdanovskiy Rural Soviet of Aleksandrovskiy Rayon.

"I recently had occasion to meet with an active member of a community who has so far refused to register. I began a conversation with him, telling him, in effect, that the community should follow the example of its neighbors and register. This will give it legal status and make it possible to satisfy religious needs out in the open. But he angrily rebuked me saying that the community would not agree to this! Registration has been thought up in order to impinge on our faith. Of course, I became indignant and started to shame him for his words and to get him to change his mind. And I felt a deep sense of joy because before, several years ago, this person had never spoken with me openly about his doubts. But now he had opened up. This means that a feeling of trust had been established."

N. S. Syrovatko, first secretary of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU.

"I consider that registration of religious communities has improved the atmosphere in the rayon. Registration is in the interests of both the state and the religious organization; the state provides legal protection to such organizations, and believers in turn acquire legal status and pledge to observe the laws on religious cults."

Love and Understanding

At the end of my trip around Orenburgskaya Oblast I attended a wedding.

It had additional significance for me. Among the guests, I met several people whom I had seen the previous day in the prayer house. Along with other guests they congratulated the bride and groom and sang songs. I thought it a good sign that the believers feel free and easy at a wedding ceremony, organized, as they say, in Soviet style. Apparently they sensed the atmosphere which surrounded them--an atmosphere of cordiality and participation, sincere interest in the well-being and happiness of the new family and in those of the future children who will live on this land.

REGIONAL

GRAIN HARVESTING PROBLEMS SUBJECT OF AZERBAIJAN PARTY RESOLUTION

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 3 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Concerning Serious Shortcomings in the Organization of 1980 Grain Harvesting Operations at Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes in Dzhebrail'skiy and Pushkinskiy Rayons"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has taken note of the fact that the party, soviet and agricultural organs in Dzhebrail'skiy and Pushkinskiy rayon have not organized the grain harvesting operations in a satisfactory manner, from the very first day they have failed to ensure efficient work by the combines and motor transport vehicles and they have not mobilized the rural workers towards carrying out the harvest work at a high tempo, in a rapid manner and without losses. The earlier prepared schedules for carrying out the harvest work were not followed.

Despite the expiration of the optimum harvesting periods and overripening of the grain crops in all areas, on 30 June of this year 43 percent of the areas remained unharvested in Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon and in Pushkinskiy Rayon -- 30 percent.

Very inefficient use is being made of the pool of combine machines, with 16-25 percent of the combines lying idle each day owing to breakdowns or mechanical defects. Moreover, the technical services being provided for these machines by the rayon associations of Goskomsel'khoztekhnika are completely unsatisfactory. The average output for a combine in Pushkinskiy Rayon does not exceed 6-7 hectares and at the kolkhozes imeni Aznabekov, imeni S. Vurgun and imeni Kirov and at the Komsomol Kolkhoz -- 4-5 hect.res. Similar situations prevail at the kolkhozes imeni Lenin, imeni S. Vurgun and imeni 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov in Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon.

Quite often the combines commence the harvesting work at 1000-1100 hours in the morning and terminate their work at 1900-2000 hours. Owing to a shortage of machine operators, not one farm is operating its combines on a double-shift basis.

The party, soviet and agricultural organs in the rayons did not display a great amount of interest in introducing the experience of the Ipatovo farmers; they reduced all of the work to a group basis and did not always ensure efficient use of the combines. The quality of the technical services work is poor and cultural-domestic services for those kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers engaged in carrying out the harvest work have been organized in a less than satisfactory manner.

The poor organization of the work and the extreme delays that have taken place in harvesting the crops have led to overripening and parching of the grain in all areas, with losses reaching 2-3 quintals per hectare on some farms. The grain losses have been especially great at the Kolkhoz imeni Sabir and the Sovkhoz imeni M.F. Akhundov in Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon and at the kolkhozes imeni S. Vurgun and Kommunizm Yolu and also at a sheep sovkhoz in Pushkinskiy Rayon.

The vicious practice of harvesting the grain crops in the absence of a preliminary determination of the hopper weight of the grain, a practice which creates the conditions for squandering and misappropriation of the crop, has taken root in the rayons. Control specimens required for determining the refactions on the threshing floors, during the final crediting of the grain to the granaries, are lacking at a majority of the farms. The disinfection of warehouse facilities has still not been completed and the stamping and adjusting of the weighing equipment have not been carried out in all areas.

The rayon agricultural administrations and the rayon associations of Goskomsel'khoztekhnika have not provided the farms with tarpaulins for covering the grain. Owing to this fact, the grain at the Kolkhoz imeni A. Aslanov and at the Sovkhoz imeni K. Marks in Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon became wet and its quality deteriorated.

The rayon party committees and rayon executive committees failed to display proper interest in the staffing of the khirman committees; the committees include only a few communists and specialists. Quite often the members of a committee participate very little in the actual acceptance of the grain; this work is performed only by the chairmen of the committees under conditions involving a complete lack of control.

At a majority of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, grain forage balances have not been composed, nor has work been started in connection with the processing and movement of the grain. The cleaning and laying in of seed and grain forage have not as yet been started at one farm. The grain procurement work is being carried out very slowly. By 30 June of this year, with 4,200 tons of grain on the threshing floors in Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon, only 153 tons or 15 percent of the plan. For Pushkinskiy Rayon, the figures were 2,400 tons procured or 20 percent of the cut yield. The procurement of strong and durum varieties of wheat was disrupted in the rayons. Nor is the work which normally follows the harvest operations being

carried out completely. Thus, only 4,500 tons or 27 percent of the 20,000 tons of straw available on farms in Pushkinskiy Rayon have been stacked and on the farms in Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon -- 30 percent of the straw has been harvested. Of the 11,600 hectares of grain crops harvested in Pushkinskiy Rayon and 3,800 hectares in Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon, plowing work has been carried out on 2,200 and 300 hectares respectively. Nor has any work been organized in connection with mineral fertilizer applications.

The considerable shortcomings noted in the grain harvesting work underscore the low level of organizational and mass political work carried out by the Dzhebrail'skiy and Pushkinskiy rayon party committees, in carrying out the decisions handed down during the July (1978) and November (1979) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the party's instructions on the need for achieving a maximum increase in grain production and eliminating grain losses. The rayon party committees are not displaying proper exactingness with regard to the rayon agricultural organs and kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders and specialists. The rayon staffs for operational management of the harvest campaign are carrying out their functions in a very unsatisfactory manner.

The socialist competition among the machine operators for completing the harvest work in just 10-12 working days was launched in a very weak manner at the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The operational results of the combine operators and drivers are not being summarized daily and insufficient use is being made of those measures aimed at stimulating them both morally and materially. Controlled thrashings of grain and evaluations of the work of harvesting assemblies are not being carried out. Visual propaganda and the publicizing of the experience of leading workers have not been organized adequately. Materials published on the pages of rayon newspapers concerning the grain harvest are very superficial in nature and do not reveal the existing shortcomings.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has stated that the extremely unsatisfactory situation with regard to the grain harvest and the low grain yields on farms in Dzhebrail'skiy and Pushkinskiy rayons result from the fact that the rayon party committees, the rayon executive committees and the rayon agricultural administrations did not display the proper degree of responsibility in carrying out the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the Council of Ministers for the Azerbaijan SSR, dated 31 August 1979 and entitled "Measures for Ensuring Successful Fulfillment of the Grain Production and Procurement Plan for the Azerbaijan SSR During 1980."

Serious shortcomings were tolerated on many farms during the sowing of winter crops, soil and seed preparation work, applications of fertilizers and irrigation operations, with the requirements for good agricultural practices being violated. As a result, many farms throughout the region are obtaining low yields. The grain yields on farms in Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon are not exceeding 11.3 quintals per hectare, or 1.2 quintals less than

the figure for the same period last year. For Pushkinskiy Rayon the yield is 14.5 quintals, or 2.3 quintals less.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan believes that the Ministry of Agriculture and the State Committee for Viticulture and Wine-Making are not scrutinizing thoroughly the course of the grain harvest work, but rather they are tolerating the serious shortcomings taking place in this work, including on farms in Dzhebrail'skiy and Pushkinskiy rayons. Moreover, they are not furnishing timely assistance to the rayon organizations for the purpose of improving the harvest operations.

Goskomsel'khoztekhnika is not providing satisfactory technical servicing for the harvest equipment and efficient measures are not being undertaken by Azerglavneftesnabsbyt and the administration of the Azerbaijan Railroad for ensuring that the rayons are systematically supplied with fuel and lubricating materials.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has declared the work carried out by the Dzhebrail'skiy and Pushkinskiy rayon party committees, in connection with increasing grain production and organizing the timely harvesting of the crops without losses, to be unsatisfactory.

The rayon party committees and the rayon executive committees have been required to undertake urgent and efficient measures aimed at intensifying to a considerable degree the rates and quality of the harvest operations, preventing grain losses completely and ensuring unconditional fulfillment of the plans and socialist obligations for the production and sale of grain to the state.

For their irresponsible attitude in organizing the grain harvest operations, for their lack of exactingness toward the personnel and also the low level of discipline, all of which brought about considerable losses in grain, the 1st secretary of the Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon Party Committee Comrade K.A. Agayev, the chairman of the rayon executive committee Comrade A.M. Parzaliyev and the chief of the Agricultural Administration Comrade I.S. Gasanov were issued reprimands.

For their unsatisfactory organization of the grain harvesting and procurement work and for tolerating crop losses, the 1st secretary of the Pushkinskiy Rayon Party Committee Comrade M.M. Nagniyev, the chairman of the rayon executive committee Comrade M.G. Mamedov and the chief of the Agricultural Administration Comrade S.G. Mamedov were given strict warnings.

The statement by the 1st secretary of the Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon Party Committee Comrade K.A. Agayev and the 1st secretary of the Pushkinskiy Rayon Party Committee Comrade M.M. Nagiyev concerning the fact that they will undertake measures aimed at completing the grain crop harvest on farms in Pushkinskiy Rayon by 4 July and in Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon -- by 5 July of this year.

The Pushkinskiy and Dzhebrail'skiy rayon party committees, rayon executive committees, rayon agricultural organs and the leaders and primary party organizations of kolkhozes and sovkhozes are obligated to carry out the following:

...improve the work of the khyrman (oversight) committees, ensure strict book-keeping and accounting for all grain movements. Clean and raise the grain to the required conditions as quickly as possible, especially the seed stock. Do not allow the quality of the grain to deteriorate and ensure that it is stored in a timely manner.

...compose grain forage balances for each kolkhoz and sovkhоз which will ensure correct grain consumption, the fulfillment of the plans and obligations for selling it to the state, the laying in of seed and forage funds and the issuing of grain for wages and other needs;

...to ensure the timely collection and removal of straw from the fields, the application of mineral and organic fertilizers to tracts that have been cleared and the carrying out of plowing work and sowing of the next crops during the best periods.

In view of the fact that unsatisfactory harvest rates, low quality work and other shortcomings in the harvesting of the grain crops are also occurring in a number of other grain growing regions of the republic, it has been proposed that the oblast committees, municipal committees and rayon party committees examine the course of the grain harvesting and procurement work in the bureaus of the party committees and undertake additional measures aimed at raising the harvest rates to a considerable degree and improving the quality of the harvest operations, while preventing losses and squandering of the grain.

In connection with the mass ripening of grains and the possibility of high air temperatures causing them to become overripe, every attempt must be made to mobilize all human reserves, equipment and motor transport facilities and to organize double-shift operation of the combines and other harvesting equipment. Such measures will make it possible to prevent grain losses as well as a deterioration in the quality of the grain.

Each kolkhoz and sovkhоз must ensure unconditional fulfillment of their plans and socialist obligations for the production and procurement of grain and for laying away seed stock and grain forage for public animal husbandry.

The attention of the Ministry of Agriculture (Comrade Askerova), Azplodoovoshchprom (Comrade Shamiyev), the State Committee for Viticulture and Wine-making (Comrade Rzayeva) and Goskomsel'khoztekhnika (Comrade Kerimova) is drawn to the serious shortcomings noted in the organization of the grain harvest work at kolkhozes and sovkhozes throughout the republic and they are being required to carry out the following actions: participate on a daily basis in solving the crop harvesting problems, respond to the

problems that arise in a timely manner and furnish effective assistance to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in successfully completing the harvesting, processing and storing of the crops.

The recommendation has been made to have Azerglavneftesnabesbyt (Comrade Alekseyev) and the administration of the Azerbaijan Railroad (Comrade Kengerli) improve their work of supplying the kolkhozes and sovkhozes with fuel and lubricating materials in a timely manner.

The editorial boards of republic newspapers and the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting must publicize more extensively the grain harvesting operations being carried out at kolkhozes and sovkhozes throughout the republic, they must criticize existing shortcomings more boldly and they must ensure the effectiveness of the materials being published.

7026

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REGIONAL

PROBLEMS IN LOCAL KAZAKH DAIRY INDUSTRY CITED

Karaganda ORTALIQ QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh 4 Jun 80 p 2

[Article by ORTALIQ QAZAQSTAN reporting team: M. Ebilqasova, sovkhoz milk-maid, rayon Soviet deputy; R. Menzhiyev, sovkhoz livestock unit mechanic; N. Inviya, non-staff reporter: "Many Meetings, Few Results"]

(Text) We made several visits to the livestock units on the Sovkhoz imeni Kuybyshev. The livestock overwintering situation and potential for boosting production were discussed at a meeting of the village Soviet in February. Comrade D. Tüsipkhanov, chairman of the Zakharovka village Soviet, stated his unhappiness with the unacceptable situation in the sovkhoz's dairy operation. Some time later we discussed the decline in milk production with Comrade Ghabit Mamyrayev, the sovkhoz party committee secretary. This situation was also discussed at a meeting of the party organization.

Sovkhoz management discussed on numerous occasions the matter of measures to improve the situation in the livestock operations.

So there have been discussions about this winter. Now the middle of summer is approaching. An official report has been published on the milk production and the procurement situation on the farms of this oblast for the first four months of the year. The Sovkhoz imeni Kuybyshev is at the very bottom in these two indices. Per-cow milk yield dropped by 45 kg in comparison with the same four-month period last year, and total milk procurement declined by 3 percent. While the per-cow milk yield achieved by this sovkhoz is 2 kg below that of the Industrial'nyy Sovkhoz in the same rayon, it is 209 kg below that of the well-run Sovkhoz imeni Chkalov.

With attention focused on this situation, some improvement has resulted from conclusions reached from discussions at repeated meetings held since the beginning of the year on this sovkhoz by the village Soviet, party committee and sovkhoz management. Just what is the result of these months of discussion?

Usually little would be accomplished at meetings other than scowling and mutual recriminations. The subdivisions and livestock units keep issuing

written resolutions that people must show greater responsibility in their work and must display greater initiative.

Here lies the heart of the problem -- these written resolutions remain mere words on paper, and exhortations to get the job done are ignored. Throughout the winter the sovkhoz feed preparation shop stood idle. One might inquire why this shop did not go into operation, a shop which is capable of improving the performance figures of the large sovkhoz livestock operation. At meetings the sovkhoz's top officials engage in a shouting match, vacillate on what measures should be taken, and make excuses to obviate themselves from blame before the community. In the second place, it takes a certain amount of time to improve milking operations in the dairy units. We took a look at the situation during the winter and spring, inspecting the livestock units. Usually the milkmaids so hurriedly set up and wash off the milking machines that they do not really get them clean. On other sovkhozes, before proceeding with the milking, the milkmaids wash and massage the cow's udder and teats. We rarely see that practiced on this sovkhoz. When the milk is transferred from tank to milk can, they do not run it through a cheesecloth filter. This also is a contributing factor to diminished purity and cleanliness of the product. We observed that in winter feed is distributed to the livestock by hand.

Rayon Soviet deputy Aldanysh Diyanova has worked to obtain better milkmaid performance. Last year her team produced more than 2.7 tons of milk per cow. This year they are striving to improve on this labor performance. They employ exemplary, progressive milking techniques. The sovkhoz's livestock specialists, however, are not devoting adequate attention to application of the experience of these milkmaids to the entire herd. This is one of the reasons why there is such a lack of effectiveness here, as well as elsewhere, in establishing and following proper livestock operation procedures. Arriving milk truck drivers pay absolutely no attention to the need to wash and keep clean the lines through which milk is run from the milk cans. Sometimes they run milk without washing out the lines. This worsening of the quality of their product is understandable. The comrades in the first production unit themselves specify the quality of the delivered milk as good. In actual fact, however, its butterfat content is low. Here milk from two production units is transported in one and the same truck. Therefore it is difficult to determine which production unit's milk is good quality, with high butterfat content.

Two lab technicians work at the milk delivery station. Unit animal specialist O. Sakimov, determining the quality of the unit's product on the basis of the first milk run into the truck by the lab technicians, is following the prescribed procedure. However, milk should be graded unacceptable on the basis of this legitimate requirement. The last time the butterfat content of the milk received from the first production unit was determined to be 2.8 percent. This is considerably below the standards. We were recently told the following by one of the specialists. The first unit's livestock complex is situated at the edge of the village of Zakharovka. In other words, it is only a stone's throw from the sovkhoz

office. But the sovkhoz livestock specialists do not devote time to verifying that milking operations at the dairy unit are following correct procedures.

Galina Tibayeva, a leading milkmaid, expressed regret about this state of affairs. The composition of the feed ration given to the dairy cattle is unsatisfactory. There are insufficient trace elements provided in the feed composition. This has an adverse effect on the butterfat content of the milk. To date no steps have been taken to correct the feed ration situation. It is also for this reason that some people purloin high-nutrient feed brought in for the dairy cattle. And even if any of these are known, the sovkhoz does not bother to take administrative measures against them. Time and again the cows are not milked at the proper time. But positive actions are not taken against violations of labor discipline.

Milk from the sovkhoz is hauled to the Kiyevka Dairy Plant. But the most important factor in this matter is lack of custodial responsibility. A seal is not placed on the tank of the trucks which bring in the milk. The people at the dairy plant also ignore this requirement. We once went to this plant to learn the procedure by which milk is received from the Sovkhoz imeni Kuybyshev. The milk truck had to wait for two hours after arrival for the plant to accept delivery, because the driver had to wait in line for his turn, while Ol'ga Knaub, the plant's lab technician, took her sweet time about it. She poked a large dipper into the tank and took a milk sample.

"How much milk has to be taken to determine the quality of the product?" we asked her. "250 grams will do it." "But you just scooped out a good 5-6 kg." "Oh, we pour the rest into the rinse bucket."

"How many buckets of rinse do you use each day?" we asked the lab technician. "Oh, three or four buckets, I guess."

Take note that 3-4 buckets of milk are being poured out and wasted instead of being consumed as food. Is it right to waste in this manner milk brought in from the sovkhoz, product for the benefit of the people, produced by the sweat of one's brow? An unnecessary waste. It would seem that the plant milk acceptance people and volunteer inspectors have had ample time to address this situation.

Summer is now with us, time for cattle to move to summer pasture. This is the best season for milk production. We would like to know what steps are being taken by the comrades of the Sovkhoz imeni Kuybyshev to utilize the considerable potential available for boosting milk production. If they continue calling one meeting after another, engaging in shouting matches and writing lengthy resolutions, without verifying their implementation, if they do not take concrete initiative and work on improving organization of labor, their considerable potential for boosting milk production will remain uselessly wasted.

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

TRANSCAUCASUS MUSLIM CLERGY CONGRESS--The seventh congress of Muslim clergy and representatives of the mosques of the Transcaucasus, with participation of guests from Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and the Northern Caucasus, was held on 11 June in Baku at the Taza-Pir Friday Mosque. Deputy Chairman of the Directorate of the Quzat, Hajji Allahshukur Pashayev gave a report on the activities of the Transcaucasus Spiritual Directorate. An auditing commission report was given by the commission's chairman Huseynali Mirzoyev. The congress considered Sheykh ul-Islam Mirghazanfar Ibrahimov's request to be released from the position he occupies for reasons of health, and granted his request. Elections of new members of the Spiritual Directorate and its auditing commission were held. The Akhund of the Taza-Pir Friday Mosque Allahshukur Pashayev, who received his higher religious training at the Islamic Institute in Tashkent, was elected chairman of the Transcaucasus Muslim Spiritual Directorate, with the religious title of Sheykh ul-Islam. The delegates to the congress adopted a resolution to all people of good will. [AzerINFORM] [Text] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 12 Jun 80 p 4]

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